THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 113, NO. 15 NEW YORK, MONDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1945 NUMBER 1610

The Bomb Is No Secret

PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS concerning what to do about the atomic bomb have been hampered by the fact that information which must be decisive in our policy has not been given out. The Army very properly has put a tight embargo on data which might be of use to a possible enemy. In the process of doing so, however, it has discouraged the release of facts and opinions which do not constitute technical secrets. In particular, we have not yet heard in full concerning this matter from the scientists who developed the bomb and who know more about it than anybody else.

These scientists are naturally deeply concerned about the consequences of the terrible weapon they have produced. Both as Army employees and as citizens, they have no intention of revealing military secrets. They do, however, believe that it is of the highest importance to convey to the public through other channels than the Army, which apparently wishes to retain the bomb as an exclusive weapon of the United States, their judgment concerning that decision and the broad facts on which such a judgment must be based. The country should demand a full hearing for what the scientists who have worked on the atomic bomb have to say, at the earliest possible moment.

The scientists who worked on the various projects where the bomb was developed have independently met in their several localities, have discussed the subject, and have produced memoranda which reveal almost complete unanimity in their main points. These memoranda are being circulated among those having access to public opinion, and the editors of the *New Republic* have been privileged to see them. We are permitted by the representatives of the scientists in question to say that the statements contained herein represent the opinions of the great majority of the men who have access to the facts.

The most startling and most significant revelation contained in these memoranda may be given in a direct quotation from one of them: "*There is no secret to be kept.* It has been known for forty years that this form of energy exists. The principles required for its release have been the common property of scientists throughout the world for the last five years. Each one of the advanced civilized nations possesses scientists capable of working out the details required for the accomplishment. Each one of the advanced civilized nations has access to some of the resources required for production of an atomic bomb."

The only important secret during the development work concerned the question whether the project could succeed. The immensely expensive and dangerous undertaking had to be based on purely theoretical predictions. Every time a minor failure occurred, the question was reopened whether the theories would operate in practice. That question has now been dramatically answered in the full view of the whole world. The only remaining secrets concern technological processes which any competent group of scientists anywhere can discover within a relatively brief time. It is a matter of only a few years at the most before all great nations can be producing atomic bombs, even if we do not tell them a single fact which they do not already know.

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1945, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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The next most important judgment of the scientists is that in spite of the great publicity given to the effects of the bomb, the American public has as yet no real understanding of its terrific potentialities for destruction. What was done at Hiroshima and Nagasaki is a mere beginning. "By using more bombs, larger bombs and more efficient bombs, it will be possible in the near future completely to destroy the bulk of the population, industry and military strength of any nation within a few days. Moreover, aviation and rocket developments might enable this to be accomplished within a few hours, without possibility of effective retaliation."

There is an old military adage to the effect that for every new weapon of offense a means of defense is quickly discovered. While the scientists cannot discuss the details of possible defense against the atomic bomb, they do explicitly state that they can offer no hope of an adequate defense against it. During this war, no defense was found against V-2 rockets except to destroy the launching sites. "Moreover, the atomic bomb presents a completely new problem because a single plane or a single rocket can carry unprecedented destructive force. We might surpass by far the defensive achievements of this war, but even if we could keep nine of these missiles from their goal, dare we hope that we could stop the tenth?"

An industrial nation like the United States is particularly vulnerable to this sort of attack because of the high concentration of its industry and urban population. We might conceivably disperse our cities and put all our factories underground, but this in itself would seriously interfere with modern civilization and would offer no ultimate assurance of safety. Certainly, we could not accomplish such a huge task within five years or even a decade.

The implications of these facts for larger military strategy are obvious, and are expressed by the scientists. Any nation with a relatively small number of atomic bombs could completely destroy the war potential of any enemy. "There is no advantage in the mere possession of more atomic bombs; the advantage accrues to the nation or group which strikes first."

Industrial predominance provides no safety for the United States as long as any other nation can make the requisite number of bombs—and several undoubtedly can. The hope of averting war through superior military preparedness on the part of this or any other nation will therefore shortly vanish. The conclusion of military men will undoubtedly be that if aggression is feared, the only safe course is to destroy the potential aggressor by a preventive war. This can be accomplished within a few days or hours by a surprise attack.

If the United States, Britain and Canada expect to protect their existence by exclusive possession of the bomb, they can only do so, according to the scientists, "by destroying all vestiges of modern science and technology, including scientists, libraries, laboratories and industries. This must be worldwide to be effective. It means the end of modern civilization." In order to enforce the edict, we should then have to police the world indefinitely. If this sort of thing is to be our policy, we might as well destroy humanity by a single blow.

If we do not use the power which we now have in either of these ways, but attempt to retain it as a threat after other nations have been able to manufacture bombs, we shall be universally feared and will in all likelihood provoke a preventive war against ourselves.

While the scientists do not regard themselves as political experts, they suggest, as well informed laymen, that the only possible alternative to such disasters is to create a world organization which can control the manufacture and use of the bomb, and promptly to turn over to it all our information while we still have an opportunity to exercise a decisive influence. Any sacrifice of national sovereignty which may be necessary to endow such an international organization with the necessary power must, in the opinion of the scientists, be accepted as a condition of survival.

The scientists leave to others the political structure of the international control, but they offer some valuable suggestions concerning how control might technically be exercised:

> An International Technical Panel responsible directly to the World Security Council should be set up. Its first duty should be the investigation of all sources of critical materials; immediate and complete control of such sources by the Council should then be established. Provision should be made for further thorough geological surveys and the extension of control to new areas; no nation, whether or not it is a member of the United Nations, may be permitted to interfere with this program. Second, all nations must agree to complete and intimate periodic inspections of all scientific, technical, industrial and military establishments by the Panel, which is to make public all findings. The inspections must be universal to be effective; international inspectors must be backed by the full might of the Council. Third, all relevant scientific and technological advances, regardless of publication elsewhere, must be reported directly and immediately to the Technical Panel of the Council, which is to be charged with responsibility of universal dissemination of all such information; all scientists should and will be honor-bound to the implementation of such regulations. It is only after the adoption of such a policy as this that we of the United States can feel a reasonable assurance that the nuclear bomb will not be used for our own destruction.

If the people of the world are to escape destruction within the next generation, they must obviously be willing to trust somebody to police this weapon. Our experience with political representatives, whether they are elected or achieve their power through other means, does not offer sufficient assurance that they alone can be entrusted with such a grave matter. Indeed, any

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relatively small group of individuals might be either corrupted or deceived.

What we need is rather a numerous body of persons who would in modern terms correspond with what in more ancient societies would have been called a priesthood or a caste. Members of this body must be found in all nations. Collectively, they must have a habit of thinking and a practice of loyalty which transcend national boundaries. They must be conditioned to share what they know, both with one another and with the general public. Finally, they must have the requisite technical knowledge to understand and report upon any relevant development.

No functional group in modern society except the scientists comes anywhere near fulfilling these conditions. We have no exaggerated opinion of scientists; as individuals they are subject to all human frailties and even collectively they do not have universal competence or knowledge. But they are trained to coöperate with one another on an international level in their own calling, and the basic item in their credo is that scientific progress belongs to the human race as a whole. We see no alternative to the proposal to entrust the future safety of the United States and of humanity to the scientific fraternity, acting as an agency of the World Security Organization.

The Same as the Nazis

Only on the last day of September did the nation learn that on the last day of August, President Truman had sent a sharp letter to General Eisenhower regarding the treatment of Jews in Germany. The President told the General bluntly that according to a report made by his special investigator, Earl Harrison, "we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazi treated them, except that we do not exterminate them." Thousands of displaced Jews are still crowded in badly run concentration camps, improperly fed, clothed and housed, while comfortable homes nearby are occupied by former Nazis or Nazi sympathizers. These Jews are still not permitted to leave the camps except with passes, which are doled out to them on the absolutely incomprehensible policy that they should be treated as prisoners. The President was obviously angry, and rightly so. In defense, spokesmen for General Eisenhower's headquarters say lamely that this criticism is out of date and that things are better now. But apparently what they mean is that since receiving the President's letter at the end of August, some attempt at amelioration has been made. Americans will be profoundly disturbed to learn that anti-Semitism is rife in the American occupation forces just as is tenderness to Nazis. We use the present tense in both cases, because obviously, you don't change the attitude of an army over night, by a rebuke to a general. This is bitter confirmation of the fact that World War II was not a war for democracy in the eyes of many of the Americans who directed it, either in the military forces or the State Department. President Truman has acted properly and vigorously to try to drive into the heads of these men that our official policy is not anti-democratic or anti-Semitic. The State Department begins to show a new spirit, with Dean Acheson helping to create policy at the top. We hope the President will keep up the fight. He will need to.

No Santa Claus

A careful survey by the United States Department of Agriculture puts the issue of preventing starvation and revolt in Europe this winter squarely up to Congress. Europe needs imported foods desperately; America has plenty. More meat, potatoes, canned fish, poultry, dried milk and vegetables will be available for civilians than last year. Indeed, more meat, potatoes and eggs may exist than people will buy at present prices. Cereal grains are abundant. If the Department is to support farm prices it must soon restrict production unless the surplus can be exported. Would not this country cut a fine figure by gorging itself and actually cutting down on food production while former Allies are dying of starvation and European children are sadly undernourished?

All that Europe needs to obtain our surplus food is the money with which to buy it. Coal, equally necessary, must also be purchased out of grants or loans. President Truman has submitted to Congress the request of UNRRA for another assessment—apportioned by its constitution as an equal percentage of the national income of each of its members. Congress has not made a move to act on this request. In its desire not to allow this country to be a "Santa Claus" it evidently intends to make us a Scrooge.

Back to Imperialism in Asia

While our policy in the Far East has lately shown signs of improving, it still leaves a great deal to be desired. In Indo-China, Americans have participated with the British in ruthlessly suppressing a revolt of the Annamites against being returned to French rule. American soldiers have lost their lives in the course of this action, which on the surface bears all the earmarks of old-fashioned imperialism at its worst. Apologists for the French have been quick to put forward stories that the Annamite revolt was Japanese-inspired, while outsiders have been prevented from having any chance to check the accuracy of this assertion. It is theoretically possible that the Japanese are involved in this situation; but the chances against it seem to be about a hundred to one. In their present position, the Japanese have nothing to gain from such a course, and much to lose. In Indo-China as almost everywhere in the Orient they alienated the native population by their brutal policy of repression. The Annamites still remember the French rule, which was about as cruel, stupid and

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bungling as it could possibly be. The Allied forces have been operating under a general agreement that all colonial areas should be returned to the powers which had them before the war began. It would, on the contrary, be very much better if these areas were placed at once under the United Nations Organization, which will come formally into existence in the next few weeks, only three more ratifications now being necessary. And in any case, it is intolerable that American and British soldiers should be used to shoot down people whose only crime is their desire to be free.

Hope in China

Chungking now confirms the news first revealed on the Moscow radio. Chiang Kai-shek and the communists have come to a preliminary agreement which ought to end the civil war in China. A new political council will be set up in which the communists and all other substantial Chinese parties will be represented along with Chungking's Kuomintang. The new council will try to work out a basis for the government.

This is the most hopeful news from China in many a day. We have been disappointed before, and final judgment should still be reserved, but at least China now has a chance for democracy. When Stalin made his agreement with Chiang a few weeks ago, it was widely said that Moscow had sold the Chinese communists down the river. It now seems more likely that on the contrary, Moscow's bargain with Chungking involved an agreement that the undeclared war with the communists would be ended. It is difficult to believe that Chungking would have taken its new step without strong Russian pressure.

Mackenzie in the New York Post

The Promised Land?

Americans will read the news from China with a special reason for pleasure. Simultaneously with the announcement came the information that American Marines had landed at Tientsin. Their purpose was to work with Chiang Kai-shek's men against the communists, and we could easily get embroiled in a Chinese civil war on what will seem to most democratic Americans the wrong side. For that matter this can still happen, if the Chungking negotiations should fail. The only safe course is to use the excuse of the new understanding, and get the American Marines out of China at once. They have no possible purpose there if the unification of China takes place now; and if it doesn't, their purpose can only be a bad one.

Congress Wants Unemployment

The full-employment bill is having hard sledding and is likely to be stalled for months at least before Congress finishes with it. The Senate passed it with several amendments, one of which was intended to prevent any possible deficit spending by the government even if full employment could not be obtained by other means. Supporters of the bill had argued that its chief purpose was not to promote the spending of borrowed money, with consequent increase of the public debt, since several other means of achieving the desired result are possible, and are mentioned in the bill. Circumstances are conceivable, however, in which deficit financing would be appropriate and desirable. Doubtless those who favor the bill accepted the amendment in order to gain the chief advantage embodied in the measure—an annual budget of the national economy, with mandatory discussion and action by Congress. When the time comes to act, Congress can adopt any remedy it pleases, no matter how the bill now reads on this point. The House, it is feared, may kill the measure in its entirety. Present prospects are that it will not be reported out of committee. A long, bitter fight lies ahead even to declare that maintenance of full employment opportunity is a national policy for which government is finally responsible.

Jobless Pay

The unemployment-compensation issue in Congress is now a hopeless mess, largely due to inadequate Administration leadership. President Truman has declared that the Senate "let him down" by refusing to approve his plan of a maximum $25 for 26 weeks. But Democrats in Congress were confused by his lieutenants, like George Allen, who gave the impression that the $25 provision was not essential. The Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, who were called to the White House after voting to shelve the bill entirely, are now likely to do something more reasonable but still inadequate.

This committee based its action on the strikes now in progress, asking "How can you determine how

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many unemployed people there are when so many are out on strike?" and promptly moved to take up the question of tax relief without any detailed inquiry into who was suffering for lack of that.

The action of Chairman "Muley Bob" Doughton of the Ways and Means Committee (D., N. C.) in denying newspaper reports that he was sabotaging the unemployment-compensation bill, was unprecedented. Sufficient pressure on him and other members of his committee could still force them to reconsider and refer this bill to the floor.

Cleaning Up in Bavaria

The ouster of Friedrich Schaeffer, AMG-appointed Minister President of Bavaria, is the best political news that has yet come from the American occupation zone in Germany. As Mr. Philipp Loewenfeld pointed out in "The Bavarian Scandal," in the *New Republic* of June 18, this reactionary politician should never have been appointed in the first place. The fact that it took more than three months for our military authorities to mend their ways and adopt a democratic policy—the need for which was apparent to liberals as far away as the United States—again emphasizes the inability of the Army to run the civilian affairs of an occupied country. It is to be hoped that from now on our military government will throw its whole support behind the new Minister President, Dr. Wilhelm Hoegner, a Social Democrat and one of the most intransigent German enemies of Nazism. Dr. Hoegner's task will not be easy, because the removal of fascists from public office will undoubtedly leave many key positions either unfilled or inadequately filled. However, as Dr. Hoegner has stated, no fascist is indispensable, and the immediate liquidation of all traces of fascism in Germany is more important than efficiency in government.

Wage Policy

William H. Davis was presumably bounced from his job as Economic Stabilizer because he spoke out of turn on the necessity for widespread wage increases. Labor Secretary Schwellenbach insisted to the President that he alone should be responsible for such matters. Perhaps he was right. But it is also abundantly clear by now that talk, no matter by whom, will not stabilize the labor scene.

It is authoritatively rumored that another Missourian, a federal district judge, is shortly slated to assume Davis' duties under Reconversion Director Snyder. Even if the new appointee is a man of superior intelligence and ability, he will have to surpass himself in order to move in the wage and price-stabilization field without undue loss of time. He must make the passage of the Pepper 65-cent minimum-wage bill a No. 1 priority item, if he is to convince organized labor of his sincerity. Certainly this minimum security must be supplied before an end to the present strike epidemic can be expected. Mr. Davis, testifying on the Pepper bill, put it very well: "There is plenty of pie for everybody if you go ahead and produce."

The Socialists Win in France

The success of the Socialist Party in the recent cantonal elections suggests that it is likely to emerge as the most powerful party in the national elections to be held on October 21. Similarly, the new Christian-Socialist Popular Republican Movement made a surprisingly good showing. Except for religious differences, these two parties have much in common and represent France's socialist-democratic Left. As they will probably command a majority in parliament, they are most likely to form the new government. Although the Communists also gained, their success was overshadowed by the triumph of the other two Left parties. The Radical-Socialists, once the party of the Center and the backbone of most French cabinets, were the heaviest losers. They are now clearly a party of the Right. The overwhelming victory of the Socialists can be attributed to the fact that their party is today the most radical in France, and that its program more nearly approximates the desires of the people than that of any other party, including the Communists. The latter are today far more conservative than the Socialists, and their electoral pact with the Radical-Socialists is indicative of this change in French politics.

Horse Trading at London

THE CONFERENCE of foreign ministers in London has been accompanied by an atmosphere of deepening gloom in the American press. The London correspondents and the editorial writers at home have combined to give an impression that it has accomplished little except to demonstrate that the powers are engaged in bitter worldwide rivalry. Some comment has excoriated the Russians for their extreme demands, while other writers have said the world is now divided into two camps or rival imperialisms, the Russian and the Anglo-American. Certain observers suggest that the conference was inadequately prepared, and was hampered by the fact that Secretary Byrnes had no time to acquaint himself with its problems; others think that problems of this magnitude can only be solved at the top level, in direct meetings of leaders such as Stalin, Attlee and Truman.

There is certainly no ground for optimism over the London meeting; but the excessive pessimism now being displayed suggests that the pessimists had previously hoped for more than was within the range of possibility. In cold fact, what has happened at London could be, and was, predicted at San Francisco. Correspondents of the *New Republic* and other papers pointed out at that time that not one of the great

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powers exhibited even the slightest willingness to impair its own sovereignty in the interest of world peace and a world order. This being the case, the sort of thing we have seen in London followed as a natural consequence. If your main objective is not international coöperation, freedom for suppressed peoples and minimizing the danger of war, it is sure to be to get as much as possible for your own country. The demands of other nations always seem more outrageous than ours; but in fact, it is hard to discern any substantial difference in the attitudes of the Big Three powers at London. If Great Britain and the United States give an impression of being somewhat more suave and reasonable than the Russians, this is explicable on several grounds. First, the Russians have been asking for things they haven't already got, and some of which they don't expect to get, a position which always makes any country seem somewhat shrill and strident. They are emphasizing, by far from subtle means, the general argument that they are now one of the strongest powers on earth, far from having reached the zenith of their influence, and that they intend to be treated as such. Great Britain, which is seeking on the whole only to preserve her status quo, has behind her many generations of experience in putting velvet gloves on iron hands, an experience foreign to Soviet Russia, which is the *nouveau riche* among the powers. As for the United States, we are as usual blessed by our remoteness (between wars) from the bear pit of Europe. We can afford to be abstractly generous about such an area as the Balkans because our ambitions lie elsewhere. In fact, however, there is little moral difference—and none in our favor—between Russia's demand for control of Tripoli and the United States' assumption of control of Okinawa and Iwo Jima under the thinnest possible veneer of internationalism, or our original intention of governing Japan strictly to suit ourselves, whether or not our policies were acceptable to our allies.

At San Francisco the daily press almost invariably exaggerated the differences among the great powers and understated the area of agreement, so much so that millions of newspaper readers must have been astonished to find that the conference ended in a charter instead of a war. The same thing may be true of London where, despite all the gloom, some real progress was made. The United States has accepted an Inter-Allied Commission for Japan. Russia, which seems so intransigent in the West, has obviously played an important role in the reported agreement between Chungking and the Chinese communists. Progress has been made on Italy. The United States is now prepared to recognize the Russian-influenced government of Hungary. After the departure of the foreign ministers, their deputies and the committees of experts will continue to discuss the unsolved problems and perhaps progress will be accelerated when the spotlight of worldwide publicity is dimmed.

While recognizing that all the great powers are about equally at fault in the horse trading at London, Americans should concentrate their attention on the faults of their own government, concerning which they can at least do more than they can about other countries. It is necessary for us to remember how American actions look when viewed from outside our national boundaries. Our military and naval leaders are not only proposing American armed services which ignore the coming of the atomic bomb, but are of a size which suggests an imperial scale if not an imperial design. What should we think if Russia soberly announced that she intends to have by far the strongest military establishment in the world? These same American leaders are demanding that we keep the secret of the atomic bomb (on the now discarded theory that there is one). Our demands for islands near the Asiatic mainland must certainly seem to Russia to be intended, not for our share in the control of Japan, but to constitute a possible threat to the USSR; it is roughly as though the Russians were to insist, under the UNO, on occupying and fortifying Lower California.

The *New Republic* argued last week that the road to genuine international coöperation lies through the application of scientific, engineering principles to specific problems, and not in demands for a sudden and impossible spiritual rebirth among the nations. The deadly peril in which the atomic bomb has placed us all, as we point out elsewhere in this issue, accentuates the need for arriving at better international understanding at the earliest possible moment. Americans should work for an expanded application of these common-sense principles, in the London conference, in the Food and Agriculture Organization, in UNRRA, the aviation conference, the oil conference, and everywhere else. In the meantime, it will facilitate progress if we will recognize that morally, the position of any one of the great powers at London is about the same as that of all the others and that in every case, improvement is needed, with utmost speed.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Should Germany Be De-Industrialized?

Mr. Morgenthau's Panacea

THE LAG between mankind's technological-scientific and social-scientific development has never been greater than it is today. The harnessing of atomic energy has radically changed our technological expectations. But our failure to control the forces of nature for social good is as glaring as ever. This lag is symbolized by the fact that atomic energy was first unleashed for the destructive purposes of war. But if the horrifying effect of the atomic bomb has demonstrated anything, it is that we must close the gap between scientific achievement and social backwardness.

In September, 1944, prior to the Quebec Conference, former Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr. outlined a plan for the de-industrialization of Germany and her transformation into an agricultural country. Since then, his program has been hotly debated. The plan was based on the assumption that not arsenals of weapons, guns, tanks, ships and planes, but the capacity to produce them, constitute Germany's power to wage war and that, therefore, destruction of her war potential will make future aggression impossible.

The argument in favor of de-industrializing Germany is anachronistic, regardless of whether it is made in the context of the pre-atomic or the atomic age. For, rather than closing, it tends to widen the gap between technological achievement and social backwardness. Not the *possession,* but the *use* of a war potential means armed conflict between nations. There is, as will appear later, an element of truth in the proposition that Germany's heavy industry and her expansionist war policy of the last fifty-odd years are related. But the cause and effect inherent in this relationship did not depend on the *existence,* as such, of heavy industry, but on the nature of its social control and on the economic context in which it operated.

There is a widespread belief that the peace which is being shaped with Germany represents the views of Mr. Morgenthau. And Mr. Morgenthau, interested in promoting his plan, has now given additional credence to this belief by presenting the plan in book form.[1] Since the Quebec Conference, he declares, "it is worth noting, the basic principles of the program have represented the official position of the United States Government. It is obvious that in the Berlin Declaration . . . the three principal Allies were seeking to carry out the objectives of that policy."

[1] Germany Is Our Problem—A Plan for Germany, by Henry Morgenthau Jr. New York: Harper and Brothers. 239 pages. $2.

Is this statement correct? There is good reason to believe that the Berlin Declaration does not reflect the Morgenthau plan as closely as its author might wish. As a matter of fact, the Declaration is phrased so broadly as to allow for a number of interpretations. If Mr. Morgenthau's view—that the Berlin Declaration carries out the objectives of his plan—were right, his book might serve as a valuable commentary on the feasibility of, and a guide to, a program of de-industrialization. But the book is neither commentary nor guide. Rather, it is a political pamphlet which seeks to influence the policy-makers who have to implement the Berlin Declaration.

The economic provisions of the Morgenthau plan consist of a program for the destruction of Germany's heavy industries and a program for "pastoralization." Incidental to these two main parts are a reparations scheme and an attempt to solve Germany's foreign-trade problems. Needless to say, the entire plan is based on an interpretation of history which has as its theme the German people's "lust for conquest." It is unnecessary to discuss and refute this interpretation because it will fall, sooner or later, by its own mistaken assumptions. But Mr. Morgenthau's de-industrialization program deserves attention because it is closely linked with the problem of disarming Germany. Would its rejection mean a "soft" peace for Germany? Or would it mean a workable peace for Europe?

The right of the victor to disarm the defeated is an acknowledged and sound principle of the law of nations. But the question may well be asked: What constitutes "disarmament" in modern industrial society? If a country's war-making power depends on its war potential, and if it is impossible to distinguish between industries of military value and those of purely peacetime utility, the only solution would seem to consist, as Mr. Morgenthau advocates, of "depriving Germany of all heavy industries." His plan, indeed, exceeds in severity the earlier, unofficial reports of its contents. Germany's real armament, he writes, "is a triple threat of metallurgical, chemical and electrical industries." He would remove, destroy and prohibit rebuilding these installations:

1. *In the metals group:* blast furnaces, open hearths, blooming mills, forges, rolling mills—*i. e.,* all the plants used in turning iron ore into finished primary iron and steel products—in addition to all factories capable of making machine tools, airplane engines, airplanes, locomotives and other heavy railroad equipment, Diesel engines, steel rails, heavy tractors and automobiles.

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2. *In the chemical group:* heavy chemical factories producing explosives, rubber and gasoline; but pharmaceutical items might be permitted because their production is possible in small units. However, Germany must be deprived of her position in international cartels in this field.

3. *In the electrical group:* electrical power except as is needed for household and reduced industrial needs, plants for the manufacture of dynamos, turbines, communication devices and electronic equipment.

While factories, as Mr. Morgenthau observes, can be easily removed, coal in the ground is more difficult to dispose of. But since coal is well adapted for coking and, therefore, steel-making, and since coal is also the foundation of much of Germany's electrical and chemical progress, he wants the Ruhr area—producer of from 75 to 80 percent of Germany's coal—to be taken away and placed under international control. Not only should no German be permitted to sit on the Ruhr commission, but all German miners, factory hands, transportation and service workers—the entire German population—should be deported and their places taken by French, Belgian, Dutch and other labor. (No detailed comment is needed on this proposal.)

Finally, Mr. Morgenthau suggests—and nobody would quarrel with him on this point—that German foreign economic intrigues be ended. Allied control over all of Germany's foreign-exchange transactions is a practical policy, and her exclusion from cartels is, as he points out, "an obvious lesson of experience."

Dropping for a moment the question of the technical and economic practicability of the Morgenthau plan, especially the advisability of depriving Germany of all heavy industries, it seems worth while to compare it with the relevant provisions of the Berlin Declaration. According to paragraph 11, "in order to eliminate Germany's war potential, the production of arms, ammunition and implements of war as well as all types of aircraft and sea-going ships shall be *prohibited* and *prevented*. Production of metals, chemicals, machinery and other items that are directly necessary to a war economy shall be rigidly *controlled* and *restricted* to Germany's approved postwar peacetime needs to meet the objectives stated in paragraph 15.[1] Productive capacity not needed for permitted production shall be removed in accordance with the reparations plan . . . or if not removed, shall be destroyed." (Italics mine. – H. E.)

[1] Paragraph 15 provides that controls shall be imposed only to the extent necessary to carry out "programs of industrial disarmament and demilitarization, of reparations, and of approved exports and imports," to assure "the production and maintenance of goods and services required to meet the needs of the occupying forces and displaced persons in Germany and essential to maintain in Germany average living standards . . .," to ensure a balanced economy, to control "German industry and all economic and financial international transactions, including exports and imports, with the aim of preventing Germany from developing a war potential . . ." and to control scientific bodies, research and experimental institutions, laboratories, etc., connected with economic

In other words, the Berlin Declaration prohibits only the production of armaments proper, aircraft of all types and deep-sea ships. It envisages a standard of what constitutes Germany's peacetime needs. Production of goods to fill these needs is permitted, though rigidly controlled. This would certainly include many of the items whose production Mr. Morgenthau would prohibit: for instance, automobiles, locomotives, tractors and machine tools. The provisions of the Berlin Declaration have in common with Mr. Morgenthau's plan only the prohibition of production of armaments, aircraft and sea-going vessels.

Moreover, the Berlin Declaration provides that "payment of reparations should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance. In working out the economic balance of Germany the necessary means must be provided to pay for imports. . . . The proceeds of exports from current production and stocks shall be available in the first place for the payment for such imports." Furthermore, the reparations provisions themselves set as a condition that the industrial capital equipment to be removed be "unnecessary for the German peace economy." What is to be considered "unnecessary" in this respect, the Potsdam Conference decided, is the average standard of living of the European nations. But the determination of what is meant by "average living standards" is to be settled by the Allied Commission on Reparations sitting in Moscow.

What standards is the commission likely to establish? Little has been heard from that body. But on August 5, 1945, William H. Stringer reported in the *Christian Science Monitor* from Washington that the German steel and other metal-producing industries would be whittled down to their pre-Hitler size, that production of goods that might make Germany self-sufficient—such as synthetic rubber, nitrogen and petroleum—would be prohibited, and that the importation of manganese and other metallurgical compounds would be controlled. On August 28, 1945, an Associated Press dispatch from Berlin reported that British and American technical advisers described Germany's reduction to a nation of small farmers as "a short-range political necessity but a long-range economic absurdity." And on August 30, 1945, Mr. Edwin W. Pauley, the American representative on the Reparations Commission, declared on his return from Moscow that the Allies have no intention of reducing Germany to a mere "pastoral, agricultural nation," though the Germans would have to get along on a living standard measurably below that of the war years.

On the basis of this admittedly scanty evidence, but allowing for a liberal interpretation of the Berlin Declaration, it may be said that the program, though liquidating that part of Germany's economic strength which developed as a result of Hitler's war-preparation policy, does not contemplate the complete destruc-

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tion of Germany's heavy industries as proposed by Mr. Morgenthau. On the contrary, prohibition of certain synthetic industries is to be compensated by imports which, in turn, are predicated on the export of goods in which Germany has a competitive advantage.

There cannot be—for the time being, at least, until fascism has been completely uprooted and the Nazi war criminals have been punished—any objection to reducing the expanded capacity which was created by the Nazi regime to make Germany fully self-sufficient and prepare her for war. A fair standard, certainly, would be Germany's capacity of 1933, especially in the fields of iron, steel, ferrous alloys, metallurgical products and chemicals. The removal of the high-cost *ersatz* production of synthetic oil, rubber and nitrogen, or the elimination of mining of expensive low-grade iron ores, copper and tin are, as a matter of fact, economically desirable. For such a policy will enable Germany to concentrate on the production of those goods in which she has a competitive advantage in the international market as a result of her resources, manpower and technical skill.

While the Berlin Declaration, in contrast to the Morgenthau plan, does not necessarily entail the de-industrialization of Germany, it proposes economic decentralization "for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements." This decision seems to hit, in part at least, the real problem of the German economy—its top-heaviness. The vast concentration on heavy industries was primarily due to Germany's easy access to coal and iron resources. The result was that, in the context of capitalism, heavy industries not only outranked consumer-goods industries in a disproportionate degree, but also supplied more products than either the domestic demand required or the normal foreign market could absorb without pressure. It was the need of foreign markets for the products of heavy industry which encouraged monopolization and cartelization as well as the aggressive foreign policy of the German state. When foreign markets could not absorb all the products of German heavy industry, and when German products found competition from other countries, the German economy became a war economy because it alone seemed to guarantee continued production for private profit.

The difficulty of destroying German cartels *per se* has been exaggerated. Their liquidation is not so much a German question as it is a problem for those countries, especially Great Britain and the United States, which permitted their own industries to enter into cartel agreements with German firms. The threat of German cartels, in other words, depends on the economic policies of the industrial powers, especially on successful anti-trust action in the United States.

More difficult, however, and perhaps economically disadvantageous, is the decentralization of German trusts and combines. Some trusts—the Hermann Goering Werke or I. G. Farben, for instance—cannot be justified technologically and may well be broken up to economic advantage. But in the case of others, which have been brought together for technological reasons, dissolution will not necessarily achieve the desired result. On the contrary, in view of the high level of organizational and technological development reached in modern industrial society, a return to competition might result in price wars, duplication, wasteful marketing and general instability, leading possibly to the creation of new cartels.

The alternative to such a policy, whose success is doubtful and loaded with dangerous possibilities, is to put Germany's key industries, trusts and combines under public control, either German or, if Germany does not produce a reliable democratic movement, European, if not worldwide. It is important to remember that the Russians think in terms of government control and ownership of industry, and that the British not only do not have the American anti-trust tradition, but that the present Labor government is more inclined to favor government intervention and participation in industry. Moreover, in the context of postwar Europe, with most countries moving along the road to socialization, the socialization of German industry would be more likely to solve the problem of German industry than decentralization and the retention of capitalist competition.

The decentralization of the German economy is, at the most, a temporary expedient. It has, in common with the plan for de-industrialization, the assumption that capitalism will continue to be the predominant economic, and nationalism the predominant political, force in world politics. Mr. Morgenthau, for instance, believes that his plan will not only curb Germany's war potential, but will also prevent "economic blitzkrieg." This is to say that he fears that Germany, if she remains an industrial nation, will continue to penetrate smaller, less industrialized countries. Even in a defeated Germany he sees a powerful competitor. If this is true, the cure would certainly not be to de-industrialize Germany, but to industrialize the backward nations and regulate competition in the world market. Such a solution, however, is obviously not to the liking of Mr. Morgenthau and those who agree with him. As a result, the advocates of German de-industrialization, by not wanting to tackle the roots of the problem of the industrial lag among nations and of international cutthroat competition, actually contribute to the perpetuation of a situation which was characterized by economic nationalism, the struggle for markets, the rise of fascism and finally war.

Adoption of the Morgenthau plan would be a short-sighted policy. In the first place, Germany, capable

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once of developing a complex industrial system, could build new industries as soon as the victorious powers disagreed among themselves and gave up the rigid supervision necessary to carry out complete de-industrialization in the field of heavy industry. The new industries would have the additional advantage of being the most modern and efficient in the world. Second, the transformation of a highly industrialized country into an agricultural one would make it impossible for the German people to support itself, create a slum area in the heart of Europe and fan a spirit of resentment, vengeance and aggressiveness which, in turn, would seriously hamper the possibility of democracy. Third, the destruction of heavy industry would disorganize and contract international trade at a time when expansion is most urgently needed.

Peace is the function of constructive social engineering, not of machine-wrecking. If, in order to prevent a future war, we were to act on the principle underlying the Morgenthau plan, the only insurance against war would be the suppression of atomic energy. It is inconceivable, however, that mankind—in spite of its fear of the atomic bomb—will take this course, thereby depriving itself of a discovery which can be used for infinite good. The same consideration, it must be admitted, applies to the basis of yesterday's war-making power—Germany's heavy industries.

HEINZ EULAU

This is the first of a series of articles on Germany's economic future. The second will appear in an early issue. – THE EDITORS

Report to the President

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Elmer Benson and I have just returned from a six-weeks tour through the Middle West and Far West on behalf of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee. In making this trip we had a threefold purpose: (1) To feel the political pulse of the country through individual interviews with business, farm and labor leaders, and to meet with groups representing independent progressives and political leaders; (2) to see how far our organization should go in establishing Citizens' Political Action Committees to work alongside and within the Democratic and Republican Parties; (3) to encourage the individuals with whom we met to start immediately an intensive campaign on political issues and, through an understanding of the important issues, to encourage discussion on potential progressive candidates for Congress.

In writing to you as President of the United States, we also have in mind that you are the titular leader of the Democratic Party and, as such, are interested in the Democratic organizations in the various states.

Our first stop was Chicago, where we met with the Independent Voters of Illinois, a progressive group which was very active in the presidential campaign last year and which worked with the organized labor movement and the Democratic Party organization to carry Illinois for President Roosevelt and you, and to defeat, by supporting Mrs. Paul Douglas, that arch isolationist, Stephen Day. This organization also contributed to the defeat of reactionary Charles S. Dewey, who was succeeded by the progressive Representative Alexander Resa. This group has continued its organization, with increased emphasis on local and municipal affairs. No decision was reached regarding their affiliation with the NCPAC, but since our programs are similar, no doubt we shall continue to coöperate closely.

Mayor Kelly was out of the city. Our time was spent entirely with business and labor leaders and other individuals outside the party organization.

We left Chicago with the definite feeling that much work remains to be done if the progressive forces are to hold their own in the 1946 congressional elections. The outcome of these elections will be determined largely by the extent to which the Democratic Party leadership, the labor movement and independent progressive groups can agree on a program of positive action. The time is approaching when Mayor Kelly will have to make a choice between his thinly disguised working relationship with "Bertie" McCormick and the progressive people of Chicago. It is important, Mr. President, that Mr. Hannegan give his personal attention to Chicago.

The greatest assets of the progressive movement in Missouri are the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the St. Louis *Star-Times*. The greatest liability is the Democratic Party organization. We met with most of the leaders. They impressed us as good citizens who wanted the party to stay in power, but thought it could be done through patronage and special favors. You stand to lose a senatorial seat and, possibly, one House seat next year, unless you and Bob Hannegan quickly strengthen your party organization. The labor movement has intelligent leaders and was chiefly responsible for carrying Missouri last year. They are not too hopeful about next year's prospects. Your recent appointment of the Roosevelt-hating isolationist, Bennett Clark, to the Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington discourages the type of political cooperation which brought such good results last year. I urge you to encourage new leadership in Missouri which will carry on in the Roosevelt tradition and will recognize that the spoils system is on the way out.

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From St. Louis we moved on to Denver with high hopes that we could find sufficient followers of that great progressive, the late Senator Howard Costigan, to provide new leadership in a state that had slipped into the hands of reactionary politicians. The Costigan followers, though few in numbers, are still there, but they are dispirited because they feel that Ed Johnson and his isolationist supporters are closer to the Administration than they. One ray of hope is the Democratic State Chairman, Gene Cervi, a fighting liberal, who must spend far too much of his time in battling Ed Johnson to protect the interests of both the people and the Democratic Party in Colorado. Jim Patton is again talked of as the Democratic candidate for Governor, and Charles Graham is being mentioned as candidate for the Denver seat in the House. Colorado can only be brought back into the Democratic ranks through your acceptance of their type of leadership and complete rejection of Ed Johnson. I hope Bob Hannegan will call Patton, Cervi and Graham to Washington and give them the green light.

Utah has become a really progressive state through political action. The Democratic Party leaders there, inspired by Senators Thomas and Murdock and Representatives Granger and Robinson, have developed cooperation with the labor movement, which is the source of votes and progressive policies for both the people of Utah and the nation. Utah's hopes lie in further industrialization and a better utilization of its water and power resources. The natural resources are there, but it will take effective action by the federal government if they are to be used. As a first step, you should see that the Geneva steel plant continues at full production, under management interested in the industrial development of the West.

California is a progressive state. We spent three days in San Francisco and four in Los Angeles. The people there are less interested in party labels than in results, but in recent years the progressives have worked chiefly within the Democratic Party. Organized labor is the most important political force in the state. Democratic leaders have wisely consulted with labor on both programs and candidates. We found the major interest here to be full and fair employment.

We heard much discussion about the congressional and gubernatorial races of next year. There is general agreement that Attorney General Bob Kenny is the one candidate who can defeat Governor Warren. As yet, there is no general agreement on the senatorial race. The three individuals most discussed are Colonel Evans Carlson, Manchester Boddy and Orson Welles. Having met Colonel Carlson, we are convinced he would make a great Senator, and Orson Welles, too, deserves serious consideration. You know the contribution he made to the reëlection of Roosevelt. He deserves encouragement and attention from the Administration. Manchester Boddy is highly respected, but most people with whom we talked felt he should not jeopardize his great contribution as publisher of the Los Angeles *Daily News*.

California is fortunate in having a number of progressives in its congressional delegation. They can all retain their seats if the present coöperation among the Democratic Party, the CIO-PAC, the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and the NCPAC continues. There is one thing, though, which you should watch, and that is the feeling among many Californians that the Administration looks too exclusively to Ed Pauley for advice on state politics. He may be a good fund-raiser, but his influence is limited, and his views are not representative of California progressives.

Oregon is a difficult state to analyze politically. It has not made great progressive strides like California and Washington, but the liberals in Oregon were sufficiently aroused to unseat Senator Holman and to elect the progressive Republican, Wayne Morse. The Democratic Party is weak and ineffectual and has made little contribution to the development of effective working relationships with the labor movement. Racial tensions are on the increase. The Negro population of Portland has increased from 2,500 to more than 25,000 since defense efforts started. Surprisingly enough, we found racial prejudice, particularly against the Nisei and Negroes, as bad as, or worse than, that existing in my native state of Virginia. Some individuals in the labor and farm groups are saying publicly that since the war has ended there is no longer any place for their increased Negro population. They are urging government action to send them back to the South, rather than government action to assure that full employment is maintained.

One encouraging factor is the political awareness of such community leaders as E. B. McNaughton, president of the $500-million First National Bank. McNaughton is vigorously backing the Columbia River Authority against the opposition of many of his business associates. Oregon needs your attention both politically and economically. Its people will respond to fearless and vigorous leadership.

The state of Washington is progressive. We learned much from our visit there about how party organization must function in all sections of the country, if Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights is to become a reality. At the time we were in Seattle, the major controversy within the city was over the mayor's proposal to purchase armored police cars. Labor and progressive groups generally were urging the city administration to think more about full employment and less about quelling disturbances arising from unemployment. If the Democratic Party elsewhere would carry the issues to the people as it is being done in Washington, there would be no question of continuous progressive government throughout the country.

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It only takes a few hours in Helena, Montana, to see the almost complete dominance of the state by the Anaconda Copper Company. Sam Ford, who was elected as a progressive Republican, has disappointed many of his followers. Most people with whom we talked said that Senator Wheeler, a Democrat, had greater influence and control over the Republican Party than any other individual in the state. It is clear that "the company" no longer fears this former progressive and present-day reactionary. However, Wheeler does fear for his political life. If the progressives implement their zeal through organization, Wheeler can and will be defeated. The two candidates most discussed are Lief Erickson, former State Supreme Court Justice and chairman of the Regional Committee for the Missouri Valley Authority, and Judge Adair, presently on the State Supreme Court bench. Nothing would suit Wheeler's purposes better than to have two strong candidates split the vote in the Democratic primary. We hope you realize the danger of Wheeler's being returned and that you will give no personal or other encouragement to this bitter and relentless enemy of world coöperation. The Farmers' Union, ably led by Don Chapman, is the strongest progressive force within the state.

The saddest development in North Dakota in recent years has been the deterioration of the Non-Partisan League. This organization, which for so many years kept the progressive candle burning, is now an instrument of reaction. There is real hope for the Democratic Party, if the advice and help of people like Quentin Burdick and A. B. Larson are sought. The major—in fact, the only—really well organized economic group in North Dakota is the Farmers' Union, with 30,000 members. Under the outstanding leadership of Glenn Talbot its influence could be decisive.

Gerald Nye has been busy mending his political fences and, from all reports, will probably be a candidate in the special election to be held in June for the seat now held through appointment by Senator Young. Langer will run for reëlection and many political observers think that these old-time political enemies may become political cronies and enter into a mutual-assistance pact. Progressivism in North Dakota needs your help. Here, as in Missouri and Colorado, we found that the project for an MVA was the greatest unifying force. Everywhere we went, farmers were discussing cheap power, cheap fertilizer and guaranteed prices.

The fusion of the Democratic and the Farmer-Labor Parties, without which Roosevelt could not have carried Minnesota, has strengthened the progressive forces in that state. A dinner in honor of Elmer Benson, given during our visit, testified to the resurgence of the progressive forces. The dinner, sponsored by the Independent Citizens' Committee, was attended by more than 700 persons, including farm, business and labor leaders from all parts of the state. Its political significance was not ignored by the press, which referred to it as the "kick-off" for the '46 campaign.

Political interest in the '46 elections centers in the Senate race. Shipstead is conducting his usual cryptic campaign. Walter Judd, who will get no support from liberals, will oppose him in the primaries. With the Cowles newspapers in Minneapolis and the Ridder papers in St. Paul apparently ready to fight Shipstead, the progressives are busy screening potential candidates for the Democratic-Farmer-Labor ticket.

A dangerous isolationist Senator can be removed, but mistakes like the recent appointment, at Senator Ball's behest, of a steel-corporation attorney to a federal judgeship greatly hamper the rebuilding of a really strong progressive party. The liberals in Minnesota would like some help, too, in getting more positive aid to the farmers. While we were in Minneapolis, both farmers and businessmen complained that the government's surplus-property-disposal facilities did not make the purchase of surplus trucks, tires and other equipment easy for farmers in Minnesota and the Dakotas.

All political discussion in Wisconsin ends with the same $64 question: What about Bob La Follette? No one seems to have the answer—perhaps not even Bob. Since the Progressive Party has almost disappeared as a political force, La Follette faces a difficult decision. If he attempts to rejoin the Republican Party, whose leaders do not want him, he is faced with a loss of prestige, a bitter primary contest and, probably, defeat. If he runs as a Progressive without solid labor backing, he is in for a tough fight. He can no longer command the mass support of organized labor. A good Democratic candidate like Howard McMurray or a progressive Republican would have a chance of victory. The Democratic Party is showing some signs of coming to life; it needs your help and encouragement.

Everywhere we went we found you had amazing support, but there were questions.

Many people were distressed that you did not insist on retaining the services of Secretary Morgenthau, whom they view as one of our greatest public servants and one of the most intransigent foes of fascism. Others resented the appointment to positions of power of reactionary Southerners, like Secretary Byrnes, and this question was underscored by insistence on an end to discrimination in our economic and political life.

Your skillful handling of the World Charter, Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, Bretton Woods, and the Hot Springs Food Agreement, climaxed by the Potsdam Conference, has given new hope to progressives everywhere. They have confidence that you are determined to carry out the Roosevelt policies and they want to help you. Their confidence has undoubtedly been reinforced by your recent message to Congress.

Your real test, however, lies ahead. There are progressives who question some of the support you have been receiving from queer circles, and throughout the

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country we found a marked hesitation by Democratic leaders to organize support for your program. We believe that the 1946 elections depend on the willingness of the Democratic Party, labor and progressives to unite in support of this program. Franklin Roosevelt always understood what Henry Wallace said so well, in describing the administration program at an NCPAC dinner on September 13: "The Democratic Party can survive in a national sense only as a progressive party."

C. B. BALDWIN

Pilotless Europe

AS THE WINTER APPROACHES, sadness is descending upon the continent of Europe. It is not to be compared to the anxiety and sufferings of the years of Nazi occupation, but it is a feeling of infinite aimlessness and frustration superimposing itself upon the daily struggle for a little food or heat. The people are terribly tired, they are tired of the sixth year of war—for Europe is still at war.

In a rich country such as the United States, the end of the war came when the shooting stopped, when there was no longer fear for the faraway loved ones, and when familiar peacetime comforts again began to be available.

In the pauperized countries of Europe, the war did not end with Germany's surrender. In Europe the end will come only when the freedoms which have been destroyed are completely reëstablished, when living conditions are again bearable and, above all, when that sense of security of life which has been destroyed has once more become a reality. In the meantime, European civilization is passing through one of its greatest tragedies. Only a few months ago liberated Europe was one of the main hopes for a deepened democratic way of life, but now it is already disillusioned and often near despair.

What has happened in this short interval to scatter the wonderful crowds of Paris, Toulouse, Brussels and Prague who fought with so much hope for their freedom? What has happened to the powerful Resistance movements, which had galvanized the best energies of the people?

The answers to these questions must be sought not only in Europe itself, but also in the capitals of the major powers; for everything that is happening in Europe is determined to a great extent by the policies of the Big Three.

Four Frustrations.—The first frustration for Europe came when the Resistance movement found itself in opposition to many of the Allies on the policy of purging fascists and collaborationists. Instead of that democratic revolution which was sweeping every inch of liberated soil, only a half-hearted policy of punishment of fascism and fascists was permitted. That is where the first estrangement set in between the people and the Allied armies for whom they had been waiting so long. In reality, two humanities clashed on this question: the humanity that has lived under fascism, and that which has only been threatened by it.

The second frustration came when the people of Europe had to realize that the division into fascist and anti-fascist humanities, which had become the only borderline for them during the war, was unreal in so far as the big Allies were concerned. At first glance, this might seem of little importance, but actually it is a major psychological factor in the minds of the peoples of Europe. To them, the crimes of fascism were so self-evident that they refused even to admit the necessity of political discussion for or against fascism. Just as there is no need to discuss whether or not a plague must be suppressed, they refused to consider even for one moment whether or not any of the remaining fascist governments or vestiges of fascism in their own countries should be maintained. They tried hard to swallow the arguments for maintaining certain policies of expediency, but when this meant tolerance of Franco, they couldn't take it.

The third frustration came from the economic situation of the various European countries. They had hoped during the war years that as soon as the shooting was over, the merchant and the battle fleets, the civil and military aviation of the whole world would be pooled into one gigantic enterprise for the exchange of food, goods and services. There again they had to learn the realities of life and to get it into their heads that the national economy came under the absolute sovereignty of each nation, and that the rules of the game were still governed by bargaining and hard cash.

The fourth frustration was on intellectual and moral levels. During the years of occupation many people had thought that, once the enemy was destroyed, there would be a renaissance such as humanity had never seen; that books and ideas would spread everywhere; that education would receive a new impetus; that an exchange of teachers and students would internationalize the whole concept of learning and teaching. Instead of this expected rich stream of new intellectual life, there came a few driblets of books and ideas sparsely distributed by the various information agencies, and a vague rumor that somewhere in London a conference of Allied ministers of national education would meet from time to time. In the moral field, they had hoped that the dignity of the human being, his freedom of thought and speech, belief, communication and travel,

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would wipe out all the divisions which a nationalistic order had created. Instead, they saw all kinds of restrictions maintained—simple visa formalities remained as complicated and irrational as during the war; they saw refugees and displaced persons still denied that long-dreamed-of security from constant police chicanery, and freedom from intrusion in their homes. Instead, many of the people are still haunted by fears, and some of them are even worse off than they were during the war, because in the Underground every man, of whatever nationality, who was an anti-fascist was a part of the people, protected by his neighbors. He lived dangerously, but not more so than his neighbors and friends. Today the same man is no longer protected by that solidarity. His neighbors would never understand that he must still hide from the police. He now faces the hard realities of identity cards, work permits and other senseless formalities inherited from the war. There again European humanity, perhaps wrongly, has waited for some sign from America, Russia and Great Britain that useless traditions would be discarded after the war. This sign has not come.

Internal Difficulties. – Parallel with these external developments came almost insurmountable difficulties on the domestic front. The chronic tensions among the Allies had deep repercussions on the various political parties and movements. Where there had been complete trust during the days of the Resistance, now distrust has set in. A European journalist who is something of a cynic put it to this writer in the following way: "Each one is going according to his own Mecca—and there are three Meccas: Washington, Moscow and London." This is an exaggeration, because even if many people in Europe are willing to follow one of the three Meccas, there is very little evidence that any of them is really interested in reciprocating that desire for political alliance. Of course, Europeans are looking to each of the Big Three at every turn, because there is no hope for any kind of reconstruction without the coöperation and help of the major powers. Even in day-by-day life, every political organizer, from the highest to the lowest, finds himself under the necessity of referring in some way to the great powers. What does any kind of socially progressive program mean—what does the promise of nationalization of banks and mines, insurance and credit mean—when there are no machines, tools or communications, and when money has almost no real value? What does an increase of 20 percent in the salary of a worker mean when prices are skyrocketing on the indispensable black market? What does it mean to the French farmer when he is promised lower taxes, better prices for his products, when he cannot buy even the barest requirements for farming his land? What does the promise of a progressive foreign policy mean when the major powers do not consult European countries unless they have some more or less final decisions to communicate?

These are the reasons why members of the anti-fascist forces[1] are in a particularly difficult situation at this moment. Every point of their programs was based on international coöperation, on a progressive world with generous exchange of goods, with freedom of communication, true collective security and a better life.

The nationalists, reactionaries and fascists have it much easier. They just say to the people, "You see, we have always told you, you can't count on foreign help. The only thing that counts is national strength, force—and selfishness."

In the present struggle between progressivism and nationalism which is being waged on a gigantic scale throughout Europe, the Left forces have the immense advantage of their record of opposition to fascism and appeasement, of their splendid achievements in the Resistance. Their disadvantage is that the United Nations world that they had promised is still divided, and that many of the promises made during the war are, for the time being, no more than platitudes.

The reactionary forces, on the other hand, are at the considerable disadvantage of having been, by and large, the allies of fascism, of having been the main advocates of appeasement before the war, and of having had their economic and social doctrines repudiated by the people. But they have the advantage, which should not be underestimated, of being able to point constantly to the contradictions of the much vaunted United Nations concept, and they also stand to benefit from the quarrels among the various labor factions.

Altogether, the Left still has great prestige because the basic trend in Europe is progressive. However, many European leftists feel that this advantage will last only if world coöperation and world unity become a reality. Furthermore, they feel that a new theoretical outlook has become indispensable. Throughout Europe, new formulas and tactics of progressive action are being sought. Much of the old theoretical framework has gone overboard, but as yet nothing new has been found to replace it, and so there is a dangerous vacuum. It is in this order of ideas that European leftism realizes that it cannot remain isolated any longer. Modern leftism needs the constant inspiration that comes only from the closest coöperation with similarly oriented forces in the various parts of the world. Under the conditions which obtain today in Europe, its leftism is condemned to death if liberals in the democratic countries, and particularly the United States, do not come to its aid.

Just as much of the successful reconstruction of Europe depends on the attitude of the United States, the strength and importance of European leftism de-

[1] These anti-fascist forces consist, in varying proportions in different places, of liberals (in the European sense) and socialists and communists of various shades. For convenience, I shall refer to them as the Left. – L. D.

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pends on the support of the corresponding American forces. Russia and Britain, of course, share that influence to a great extent, but because of their particular set-ups, they are not as yet in a position to exercise a decisive influence in Western Europe.

It is in the synthesis of various political concepts, it is in the formulation of a world program for progressive action, it is in the organization of international liberal action—meetings, conferences, exchange of speakers, publications, etc.—that American liberal initiative is most urgently needed. Should this initiative be taken soon, on a well organized basis, there is no doubt that its effects upon the whole political orientation of Europe would be immense.

From a historic point of view, this is an unprecedented chance—the chance of grasping the hand which a weakened but more mature and more progressive Europe than ever before is stretching out in an extraordinary mood of world unity. Until the outstretched hand is grasped, Europe will be forced to struggle along practically alone against terrible odds—but in a splendid mood for progress. LOUIS DOLIVET

You're on Your Own

ELEVEN OF US boarded the train in Chicago with orders to report at Fort Dix for separation from the Army. We were a jubilant bunch of high-point men. It was our last train ride as GI's, and one we had been looking forward to for many years. We found our Pullman compartments but did not stay in them long. A feeling of great excitement and anticipation imbued each of us. The club-car was crowded; the washrooms, platforms and passageways were loud with talk and handshakes and back-slapping. There were hundreds of us riding the Freedom Train. In the dining-car we presented our government meal tickets and received the inevitable stew, but this time we did not resent it. For this was the last time. We were lavish in our tips. We called each other Mister.

The following morning we arrived at Fort Dix. At the gate we saw a GI coming in our direction, a barracks bag slung over his shoulder and a shiny, new cloth discharge emblem on his shirt. "How long does it take to get a discharge?" Joe Myron, a waist gunner who had flown with the 15th Airforce, asked. "Forty-eight hours," the brand-new civilian replied.

"That's too long for me," Joe said as we moved on.

Forty-eight hours isn't a long time after years in the Army. But even the most stolid and patient among us considered one day's delay in our discharge as an irreparable blow to the progress of mankind. We were in a hurry. And here, finally, was the opportunity. No golden promises awaited us outside, and many looked with fear and uncertainty to the future. But now, getting *out* was the important thing.

We were issued bedding, assigned to barracks in the Casual Area, and told to listen to the public address system and read the bulletin board. "Your names will appear on the roster tomorrow," the non-com from Operations said indifferently. "Most of you will get on it tomorrow, but some won't. And if you don't, you'll know your service record is not in order. And please don't come to Operations and ask us why you didn't make the roster. We just work here—24 hours a day."

In the barracks we found three men who said they'd been there four days already. One of the men, tall, flabby, with six overseas bars on his shirt-sleeve, talked with the bitterness and cynicism one finds so frequently in the Army among those who feel trapped. "Four days I been here!" he said. "I ain't no dischargee. If you ask me, I'm a retainee."

Twice daily, rosters were posted along a large wall in front of a modest little building called Operations. These rosters contained the names of men and the schedule for their discharge processing. The most prevalent question among us was: "Did you get on a roster?" Of our original group of eleven men, ten got on. Jimmie Moore, former radio-operator-gunner, didn't make it. "You'll get on tomorrow," we consoled him. But Jimmie was broken-hearted. "I *know* my service record is in order," he muttered dejectedly. "It always happens to me." He lay in his bunk and sweated it out. We, the lucky ones, thought of tomorrow, our first day of processing, and many obstacles loomed in our minds. Suppose we flunked the physical test and the Army refused to release us? Suppose Finance snafu-ed the works? We built a thousand pessimistic suppositions. A former paratrooper in dirty uniform and sparkling jump-boots summed up our feelings: "You ain't out of the Army till you got that white piece of paper."

Our processing began in the afternoon. About fifteen hundred of us crowded into a large, unfinished auditorium to hear a welcome speech by a lieutenant, and an outline of the processing steps. Then the Protestant chaplain, who looked like a tough racket-buster, offered his three principles to guide us when we changed over from khaki to civvies. "Take it easy," he thundered. "Have confidence in God," and "Help build a better America." It was a big order—on a warm afternoon; and orientation talks never were popular among GI's. But we were in a festive and magnanimous mood. And the chaplain had a sense of humor. "Take it easy," he counseled, "no matter what you undertake. . . . If you want to get married, think it out, take it

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easy. If you want to use the vocabulary you acquired in the Army, think it over, take it easy. Ask for the salt—if you want it; no adjectives needed, they'll know what you mean. . . ."

An Over-age Destroyer—a man 38 or more being released because of age—said philosophically: "The only way to beat the insurance companies is to die young." How to convert our government insurance was the most debated question. We argued it among ourselves in the barracks, and sought clarification on the following morning when our group started processing in earnest. The counselors sat in plywood-partitioned cubbyholes, armed with our service records and large, imposing-looking tomes. My counselor, a staff sergeant who'd toured the globe for the Army, had a friendly handshake for me. He said he would give me as much time as I desired. He was here to help me and advise me on my rights as a veteran; how to convert my insurance, and so on. We scanned my service record thoroughly, and toward the end, when we got up, he put his hand on my shoulder and said in paternal fashion: "I'd also advise you to have some children. In old age they make life much brighter."

In the afternoon the much dreaded physical examination came up. It was as thorough as the one I had during induction several years ago, but much less personal. The doctors and medics seemed more harassed and colder; they worked at a swift pace, and there was little time for oral questioning. One doctor regarded us with envy and said: "I heard a rumor the Army is going to discharge a doctor this year." We were thumped and jabbed and stabbed by needles and shoved along in assembly-line fashion until we were thoroughly explored and recorded and ordered to dress and leave. My friend, the waist gunner, was told to stay; the doctors discovered a murmur in his heart. He sat in misery, upstairs, awaiting reëxamination. Some were advised to file claims with the Veterans' Administration for service-connected disabilities. One fellow with large, feverish eyes who suffered from recurrent malaria, asked: "If I file a claim, will it hold up my discharge?" He was assured that it would take only an additional ten minutes to file a claim with the VA. Of course, one was not certain of having the claim approved, but it was best to have it on record, for some of the service-connected disabilities were liable to grow worse in the future. By filing now, one would save a great deal of time and red tape. But there were many men who did not file claims because they feared it might create another obstacle in their path to liberation.

We were through for the day. In the evening we drank beer out of small paper cups at the PX, and studied the merchandise on the shelves. It reminded me of the evening before our crew took off for overseas. We had done a great deal of shopping. We bought razor blades, pipes, tobacco, candy, cigarettes; our co-pilot took along silk stockings and rouge and lipstick in order to establish a good bargaining position with the girls in the ETO. Now we were studying the shelves again, wondering what to buy before taking off into the unexplored domain of civilian life.

There was no hell-raising in the barracks. If there was any joy in our hearts, it was an inner joy. We asked each other, somewhat sheepishly: "What do you intend to do for a living?" Most of us did not intend going back to our old jobs. The future for us was tomorrow—when we would get that White Piece of Paper; beyond that was a blank. Jimmie Moore, who'd spent the day listening to the loudspeaker and scanning the many rosters, was more dejected than ever. "Tomorrow will be two days, and I ain't on yet." Some men played poker; not recklessly, not like overseas when money meant little, when you did not know whether you would be alive the next evening to play again.

The lights went out at 10 p.m. One tech sergeant who had flown missions out of England and had been wounded and much decorated, mused out loud: "Seems to me," he said in mock dejection, "I never *will* get that Good Conduct Ribbon." His record was spotless, he assured us, but it seemed he never was stationed in one place long enough to receive that award. His service record stated that he was "favorably considered" for that high honor at eight different camps. "Now it's too late," he said with resignation. "What will I tell my grandchildren when they ask: 'Grandpa, did you receive the Good Conduct Ribbon in the Great War?' " Beneath the sergeant, in the lower bunk, a high-point cook's helper outlined his plans for the future: "I'm going back to Italy," he said. "I got a woman there, and she's got two kids. I never seen a cook like her in all my life!" A private from New York, said: "I can just see myself . . . riding on the Eighth Avenue subway. . . . All of a sudden I feel inside my shirt and discover I ain't got my dog tags on. . . . I'm scared stiff an MP will catch me and I'll get restricted. So I pull the emergency cord for the train to stop, and I run home for my dog tags. . . . I can just see it." Another man said: "Tomorrow I'll be a civilian. From tomorrow on I ain't stationed in a place, I live there, see! And when I decide to travel, it ain't '. . . in accordance with AR 20-64, said EM ordered to report at destination no later than . . .' I report when I please. And when I go some place, it ain't on a furlough—15 days plus traveling time—it's a vacation and I stay as long as I want. Tomorrow I'll be a free man."

The waist gunner who was held back because of his heart murmur did not indulge in flights of fancy. And neither did a couple of other men who were scratched from the roster for further check-ups. They

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would sweat it out several days more; but each day was eternity.

For most of us it was the last night in the Army. No doubt some felt a sentimental twinge in parting with a life so thoroughly lived that its imprints would linger forever in one's being. It had not all been blood and sweat, and even for those of us who had seen the burial of our comrades, there had also been many moments of joy and warmth and common feeling of accomplishment. And some of us spoke freely of joining the Reserve and even reënlisting if we could not make a go of it in civilian life. An infantry sergeant who had been through the hell of Anzio, said: "For months now I've been sweating it out, looking forward to this. Now that it's come, I'm afraid."

In the morning—our last morning as soldiers—the omnipresent loudspeaker from Operations instructed us to turn in our bedding and to fall out in front of Operations with our baggage. We said goodbye to the men who stayed behind. Jimmy Moore, who had finally got on a roster, remarked: "You guys will be unemployed just two days longer than me." A guide with an orange armband marched us off at 7:30 past the mess hall where German PW's were sweeping the cement sidewalk and eyeing us blankly. Among us there were some angry mutterings, and then someone in our ranks started humming: "When this war is over, we will all enlist again, When this war is over, we will all enlist again, Like hell we will, like hell . . ."

We were marched into a long, fluorescent-lighted building to sign the discharge papers. Even for the average Army cynic the impending ceremony had a touch of solemnity in it. We lined up along a tall table and our service records were placed in front of us on large blotters covered in ink with many names that preceded us. We were told to sign three copies, one in indelible pencil. The instructions were concise and simple; certainly there could be no room for error. And yet we were nervous. And the huge, sandy-haired man whose name was Dombrowski trembled when he took up the pen and beads of perspiration stood on his forehead. After the signing and finger-printing we stood outside briefly to relax from the ordeal.

At the clothing-exchange shed, grimy shirts and trousers were discarded for new ones. A doggie parted reluctantly with his high infantry combat shoes. "They ain't even good for work," he said. Someone suggested they were perfect for hunting. "Not job-hunting," the doggie said, trying on a pair of GI shoes, "and that's the only kind I'll do for a while."

For some days we'd looked with envy on men who had the cloth discharge emblem sewn on their uniforms. We deemed such honor and accomplishment beyond our reach. Now it was our turn. A battery of sewing machines which lined two sides of a large shed was operated by GI's with bored expressions. They grabbed the shirts and blouses we threw down on the tables, and the needles raced above the right breast pockets, wedding the shiny, golden emblem irrevocably to our shirts. We dressed and patted the emblem lovingly, and we were off again, to Finance, this time. On the company street we saw a group of Negro dischargees march by; they were processed separately, as if belonging to another army. But they too wore happy grins.

At Finance, the pay roster was called, and we lined up again to receive our final pay. This was the last hurdle. The room was filled with smoke and nervous chatter. The paratrooper who still had his shiny boots on, said: "Soon as I get the dough from the cashier, I run. Don't matter if I get overpaid or underpaid. And by the time they find the mistake, I'll be in Buffalo." The loudspeaker interrupted our speculations and warned us that of the money due us, all but $50 would come in check form. It was for our own protection, the loudspeaker said, for there were instances in the past when a man who carried $500 with him when he left the discharge center would beg an MP for carfare to get out of Trenton.

We were paid and given our lapel discharge button. The paratrooper did not take off across the fields. Everything went smoothly and efficiently. Outside, a Permanent Party non-com said: "Everybody put on a tie and smarten up because we're going to the chapel from here for the discharge papers."

About 300 of us took our seats silently in the big, mural-covered chapel. I remembered the one at Grand Central Palace in New York when I was sworn in. The room was dark then and hushed in silent bewilderment. This was a little different. The windows were open and the bright sun came in. A major with narrow eyes sat on the podium underneath a flamboyant mural depicting George Washington reviewing two armies: the Continentals and the Army of today. In the rear, on the balcony, the organ played softly: "America." We looked back, and the Wac at the organ winked at us. The Jewish chaplain said a brief prayer. I did not hear the prayer. And I caught only snatches of the major's speech who said he was bidding us a warm farewell in the name of the Chief of Staff. I watched the faces of my buddies, and, like myself, they were impatient to hear their names called. The major stepped down from the podium. He took up the envelopes which contained our discharges and the names were read off. A name was called and a man stepped forward to salute for the last time and to receive his paper after a hearty handshake. The ceremony proceeded quietly. Occasionally the major found it difficult to pronounce names that were of Polish, Czech or perhaps Armenian origin. And they were all there, in this small group, names from all the lands and religions that forged out of their blood the flaming letter V.

LOUIS FALSTEIN

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Washington Notes

Truman's Crucial Test

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has come to an inevitable showdown with Congress. It occurred sooner than expected. Defiance by the coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats on key issues of human rights in reconversion has put the President in a position where he cannot back down. The Roosevelt-Truman ticket was elected with labor support. Like it or not, Truman must have labor backing. He has thus reached the point that was certain to come, sooner or later, when he must either exert his leadership to the utmost for his "must" program, which means an appeal to the nation and the use of strong presidential pressure on Congress, or must ignominiously back down, in which case he cannot hope to retain support of that group of the electorate on which reëlection depends.

Mr. Truman has gone part way and must go farther. He has told Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee that the Senate "let him down" in weakening the jobless-insurance bill, and has urged the House committee to reverse its own vote stalling the measure. His second problem is the full-employment bill. It is the view of this observer that the qualifying amendments to the full-employment bill, added by the Senate before its 70-to-10 passage, were not serious. The bill goes further in stating government's responsibility and in providing machinery to make it more effective than any other measure ever passed by a House of Congress. But now comes the true fight, in the lower chamber. The bill will be gutted unless Truman steps in.

To sum up, this is a test of Truman that he cannot avoid. If he gives weak support, the measures will get nowhere; even with his strongest support these two major items of his reconversion program may be made unrecognizable by legislative enemies.

No President has ever tried harder to conciliate Congress. Yet Truman is thwarted at the start of his first big reform drive. What is now happening happens in greater or less degree after nearly every election. The basic political reform America needs is a system of government whereby the will of the voters can be put into effect. There is no use hiding the very basic nature of the change needed. A year ago the electorate gave the Roosevelt-Truman ticket an overwhelming vote. Under the parliamentary system, this mandate would now be in full force, as it is in Britain today. Under the American system, two obstacles stand in the way: (1) there is a separation of powers between executive and legislative; and (2) there is a separation within the legislature itself, whereby two-thirds of the members of the Upper House cannot be reached in any given election. Separation of powers tends to prevent the development of true party responsibility, because responsibility implies power. In extreme cases it permits a rival party to capture one or both chambers of Congress, often bringing such dead-center frustration as occurred in Hoover's last two years. Out of some 13 administrations between Grant and Hoover, inclusive, 10 Presidents have faced a chamber controlled by a rival party.

Most observers here still think America's present deflationary period, accompanied by strikes, won't last more than six to twelve months, and will be succeeded by from five to ten years of prosperity. Secretary Wallace estimates national income will be $8 billion lower in the second half of 1945 than the first, which is serious but not too bad, all things considered. Pent-up mass purchasing power is now enormous, and Congress shows every intention of giving corporations a wholly unjustified postwar bonanza by reducing or repealing the excess-profits tax. Strikes or no strikes, the stock market, which reflects inflationary expectations, climbed to new highs last week. America, it seems, has two things to worry about, deflation now, and inflation to come. From the long view the second danger is much greater. If the nation is to keep faith with war bond holders, it must nail down the cost of living and put brakes on inflation. Thirty billion dollars of individually purchased "E" war bonds are now outstanding; the Treasury starts a new $11-billion bond drive October 29. Already the depreciated dollar is worth only 70 cents, in 1939 purchasing power. In Washington today part of the Administration is doing all it can to weaken inflation controls, just as another government agency, the Treasury, is preparing to launch a campaign to sell bonds—the one marketable product which is first to lose purchasing power if present inflation continues.

On June 25, 1943, President Roosevelt sent a message to Congress vetoing the Smith-Connally bill, expressing doubt whether either the public or Congress understood its provisions, and declaring it would foment rather than discourage strikes. His veto was immediately overriden in the House, 244 to 79, and in the Senate, 56 to 25. Senator Carl Hatch, one of the present proponents of the new Ball-Burton-Hatch anti-labor bill, urged his colleagues to pass this "all-important legislation."

Today Congress is about ready to repeal this preposterous spite act. It was directed at John L. Lewis and played right into his hands. It required the NLRB to supervise strike votes, and in the case of the coal miners, who immediately asked for such a vote, it cost the taxpayers $200,000. It will take millions to finance all the strike votes now being gleefully demanded from all parts of the country at once. Representative Howard Smith has swallowed his pride and asks for repeal of his own bill; as for Tom Connally, he is "too busy with other matters" to comment.

Notes.—Don't look now, but there's a farm crisis right behind the labor crisis; it's not so urgent, but it's just as big and just as inevitable. . . . The *National Republican*—a "journal of constructive Republican thought"—tells readers in its September issue that the "GOP must regain the city vote to win in 1948," and urges a Republican program to win "labor, our colored voters, and our returning veterans." The appeal comes just as GOP members in the House Ways and Means Committee vote solidly to stall the jobless-pay bill, as Taft in Senate debate repudiates the

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Dewey full-employment pledge, and as the poll-tax bill is tied up in committee without much GOP help. . . . Real estate interests have set up a Washington "research foundation," *i.e.*, lobby, to look after their interests; it will start with $500,000.

Washington T. R. B.

At the Booth

You Touched Me! by Tennessee Williams and Donald Windham. Booth Theatre, September 25, 1945.

ALL SORTS of people will be telling us that the new comedy by Mr. Tennessee Williams and Mr. Donald Windham has things the matter with it: it has too much talk, too many gestures, too much moving around on the stage, too little plot and so on.

I confess I am not very good at this sort of thing. It always reminds me of a sentence in a magazine article, very solemn, about d'Annunzio, that I read long ago. "The truth is," the sentence said, "the Italians are oversexed." And that served to finish off d'Annunzio. But obviously there is no measure for the sex urge except in relation to other values in a man's make-up. You are oversexed when sex reaches the point in you where it distorts other faculties, functions, wrecks other people, et cetera. That should be as plain as anything, or else we shall be hearing that the tiger eats too much meat. The tiger may eat meat enough to make a wolf sick, but a tiger eats too much meat only when it makes the tiger sick.

If I were speaking of great drama, therefore, great esthetic norms, and monumental traditions, I should go measuring these elements whose distribution in splendor and excellence compose high art in the theatre. Otherwise all I know is not to be highty-tighty and critically precise about Christmas dinner at the automat, as it were. This comedy of Mr. Williams and Mr. Windham, based on a D. H. Lawrence story, does not pretend to be significant or vast; and I don't care whether its entertaining effects derive from the words, the movements, the acting or what not, so long as it all is not boring. All these means are theatric media, and what we seek of them as a whole is theatric diversion. For the most part, if not quite always, I found "You Touched Me!" entertaining. The audience I saw, the second night, was full, with standees, and by all the signs enjoyed itself capitally. So there we are.

The story of "You Touched Me!" is about a young soldier who returns to what has been his home by adoption, the foster father, an ex-sea captain and super-alcoholic, the young daughter and the captain's old-maid sister, all uric acid, stale virginity and determination. In the end the frustrated girl is broken down to confess what she feels for the soldier, and they are evidently going away to live in the new world of Canada.

All in all, this is a romantic comedy, with perhaps farcical leanings—though this cannot be quite clear; it may be the acting more than the writing—and through the scenes runs a hint of subtler implication, which may be the playwrights or may be Lawrence. Certainly a considerable part of the interest we may feel is due to "The Glass Menagerie," its qualities and special traits. This comedy is set in England and does not enjoy the free flow of speech and rich idiom that the other play affords, by right of its sources in the Deep South and its native Americanism, as it were. (I use that word with hesitancy, since I never heard, though my forebears came here in very early days, of America and Democracy et cetera till those words were used by various elements who needed them for special purposes.) The speech in this new comedy is thus less fertile and glowing than that in "The Glass Menagerie," though it is easy and good as theatre talk. It speaks freely, it moves along naturally, which is something not to be sniffed at on Broadway.

Not by any rules or authority, which Molière—if I must have a sponsor—taught me never to understand, but by the simple test of entertainment, I should say that the love scene in the last act of "You Touched Me!" is rather flattish, and needs to be rewritten either for more poignancy, or for more reality or more comic wit and shine. The playwright's obsession in such a scene is an avoidance of banality, of doing the same old thing; but that obsession itself is perilously close to what it seeks to avoid. And, to take up another point, though it may well be that the authors want it otherwise, I should think it would be better not to wait for the last act to mention what the old-maid sister had done to the relation of her brother's wife to him. Such an indication would help us to see better what the stringent frustration of the young heroine has come from.

Mr. Guthrie McClintic has directed the play with his usual competence, but needs to take the actors in hand and bind them into a more general unity of effect. Miss Catherine Willard does what she did as Mrs. Sykes in the George Kelly play last season, which is to appear to wait for the same effects, the same sour devastations, and to manifest nothing between except some highly intelligent gradations toward these results. I feel certain that this fuming gamut has other notes if they were only brought into play—otherwise taking Miss Willard's women as actual characters, what would they be doing in the calms, the quiet moments, between these acrid suffocations that she so well portrays? To be obvious about what is deep is just as superficial—art being what it is—as being obvious about what is shallow.

Mr. Neil Fitzgerald, very secure and classifiable, is also too easily classified as the Reverend Mr. Melton, the ecclesiastical capon that the captain speaks of, his sister's amorphous suitor. He could play this role better by playing it less well—that is, if you care about the play's credibility. Mr. Montgomery Clift as the soldier plays with his full, intelligent thoroughness. Mr. Edmund Gwenn's captain is a ripping good performance.

I should say this evening at the Booth is well worth visiting, is fresh, speakable and civilized. It does not enjoy such a role or such a performance as that which Miss Laurette Taylor brings to "The Glass Menagerie"; but on the other hand it does not find itself so badly distorted as Mr. Dowling's directing share in that occasion produces. Mr. McClintic has seen to that.

The single setting for this comedy is the living room of a house in rural England, with stair, a sort of cut-in of the captain's quarters, various entrances and so on. It is by Motley, and lacks both taste and drama.

STARK YOUNG

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Psychological Melodrama

"LOVE LETTERS" has one of the least stereotyped or believable plots in movie history and has almost as much story per second as "Intolerance." It is so weighted with plot that its hero no sooner steps through a door than he is faced with an unexpected, important visitor, and he and the heroine are usually seen between events in a vehicle rushing to make the next sensational development. The story starts with a reserved, mooning, soft-hearted soldier (Joseph Cotten) writing some love letters for a no-good fellow soldier. The letters are so sentimentally bad and dull they should dissatisfy even a D. W. Griffith heroine, but they cause the girl who gets them (Jennifer Jones) to marry the no-good soldier. He is soon murdered with a butcher knife by the girl's guardian (Gladys Cooper); whereupon the guardian has a paralytic stroke and the girl loses her memory. After a year in prison, the girl marries the man who really wrote the letters, and during their first happy months together, she recalls one fact after another from her past until she remembers everything. There isn't one wholly credible development in this story, but in the last half of it, at least, there is a good deal of tension, excitement and real passion.

"Love Letters," which is directed in a scrupulous, well thought-out way by William Dieterle and photographed to the teeth by Lee Garmes, is one of the few current films in which there is an appreciable attempt at eloquence. The scenes are planned and set up with unusual care (to the extent that the transitions are economical, nice and so artful, they are usually the best parts of the movie); the pace is solemn and deliberate; there is the feeling that every last bit of majesty or momentousness is being sought for in a patient, hard-working way; and the playing is a kind in which action and expression are made very full, exact, slow and elegant. Occasional stretches have real grandeur. In a long speech made by the heroine at her trial, the lighting is soft and radiant; the speech is well written and is delivered in a sensuous, slow way that makes the scene very moving and passionate. In several scenes the expression is enlarged by switching suddenly and contrastingly to a close-up of the heroine, who at that moment is in the center of a vivid action. One such scene, in which the heroine is crying, becomes awesome and terrifying through this technique of abruptly changing subject matter and time and making Miss Jones seem almost to overflow the screen, and also by the startling lushness of the acting.

For the most part, though, the movie seems stagy, fancy and wooden rather than expressive. In most scenes there isn't enough action or purposeful conversation, though there will be good occasional effects in a graceful, deliberate gesture, usually of Cotten's, or in a facial mannerism of Ann Richards or Miss Jones. The outdoor shots, in either idyllic or scary English countryside, have a very synthetic quality, and the ones indoors seem not much less cooked-up. Too much of the imagery is like the photography in *Vogue;* however, though Mr. Garmes's photography lacks virility and takes everything at its prettiest, it is composed in light and dark with great handsomeness, is sharp and clear with details, and is consistently more respectable than almost any other photography in Hollywood.

The movie is filled with wistful, vapid, played-out characters, but its heroine is different, very well conceived and acted. She is an innocent, dissociated person who lives for the moment, enjoys it thoroughly, is frank, wise, unconventional, and given to elaborate, affected actions and facial expressions. Miss Jones's playing almost always seems too rich and somewhat amateurish—she stops on a radiant smile or a contemplative look too long to seem not to be acting and there are usually a couple of degrees too much sway in her walk. But a good deal of the affectation is apt for the character; the elaborate style of playing fills the movie, which is often so wooden, with a lot of human emotion and energy; Miss Jones is accurate and exciting enough to give her role a surprising originality and interest. Alongside Miss Jones's lush manner, Joseph Cotten seems to disappear from the screen, but he plays some unusual, very individual actions perfectly—such as a scene in which he is perplexed, surprised and highly pleased when he knocks on a friend's door and is met unexpectedly by the heroine. There is a harmonious, elegantly articulated performance by Ann Richards as a cold, efficient woman who is very concerned for the heroine. MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

General George S. Patton Jr. today declared that "the best thing the United States can do is let the German people see what a great people we are by mixing with them."

General Patton did not directly suggest that American soldiers marry German girls, however, and laughingly told correspondents at a press conference that, "Personally, I've got a wife." – *AP dispatch from Third Army Headquarters in Germany.*

Eire has announced that soldiers who deserted from the Eire Army to join the forces of the Allied nations are no longer liable to arrest or trial for desertion on their return home. – *From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Also in the Pages of *Time*

A tycoon is a hurricane. It happens in the tropical waters of the Pacific. – *From an editorial in the Columbus, Ohio,* Citizen.

The Compleat Angler

Tenants of 507 Seventh Avenue . . . lowered envelopes containing cash and orders for food at the end of strings and tickled the noses of passers-by with them until somebody volunteered to fulfill the order and tie it to the end of the string. . . . The practice was ended, however, at 2:30 p.m., when a tenant on the sixth floor reached out and intercepted two sandwiches which were on their way to the fourteenth floor. – *From a story on the elevator strike in the New York* Herald Tribune.

The New Order in Asia

Admiral Mountbatten, Supreme Allied Commander in Southeast Asia, has instructed Japanese forces in Java, Dutch colony in the East Indies, not to hand over authority to any Java faction. – *Reuter dispatch from Singapore in the New York* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

The Anatomy of Peace

SIR: Now that the atomic bomb has made a lot of people come to grips personally with the grim necessity of finding an iron-clad formula for world peace, perhaps Emery Reves's fine book, *The Anatomy of Peace*, will merit further attention in the *New Republic* than was given it by the short review in your July 23 issue. *The Anatomy of Peace*, in remarkably straightforward terms, itemizes failures of all of mankind's major concepts to find a solution to the awful problem of war. It shows that the very idea of "balance of power" produces resistance to that balance and its ultimate overthrow. It shows that, no matter where nation-state diplomacy begins, it will (as it has in the past) always result finally in a breakdown of negotiations between various "supreme" man-made organisms known as nations—which, by forcing one another into war, thereupon demonstrate that their much cherished sovereignty is simply a figment of polite diplomacy.

With brilliant clarity the author demonstrates that those people who reverence the supreme authority of the nation-state, and who rebel against transferring sufficient sovereignty from this and other nations to create a world state, are building inevitably and skillfully for human suicide through war and more war. He argues, and I think correctly, that any voluntary association of "sovereign" nations will disintegrate, no matter how carefully it is put together, because it is "voluntary" and because its pledges of force are not backed by law.

"Champions [of universal law] must be found among those very leftists and internationalists whom Mr. Reves pillories and dismisses as arrant fools," says the almost petulant reviewer. He is quite right in the first part of the above sentence. As to the last part of it, it may interest the *New Republic* to know that I have seen statements from scores of prominent "leftists" and "internationalists" praising Mr. Reves's work in words that shine with hope and a demand for action before we "atomize" ourselves out of existence.

New York City WALLACE THORSEN

The TVA: Project for the People

SIR: I have just finished Bruce Bliven's series of articles on the TVA (the *New Republic*, September 3, 10, 17). I am grateful for this series, because I am enthusiastic about the TVA and feel that, generally speaking, too little publicity has been given to the benefits that the people derive from this government project. Furthermore, this is an outstanding example of how successful a government project can be.

Few people are probably aware of the fact that power from the TVA made possible the speedier completion of the atom bomb—thus saving countless soldiers' lives.

I recently came across President Hoover's veto message on the Muscle Shoals bill in 1931, from which I quote as follows:

> I am firmly opposed to the government entering into any business the major purpose of which is deliberate competition with our citizens. . . . For the federal government deliberately to go out to build up and expand an occasion to the major purpose of a power and manufacturing business is to break down the initiative and enterprise of the American people; it is destructive of equality of opportunity of our people; it is the negation of the ideals upon which our civilization has been based. . . . I hesitate to contemplate the future of our institutions, of our country, if the preoccupation of its officials is to be no longer the promotion of justice and equal opportunity, but is devoted to barter in the markets. That is not liberalism; it is degeneration.

Winnetka, Ill. SAMUEL BOOTH

"China Friendship Day"

SIR: The Republic of China will be 34 years old on October 10. Now that both the United States and China are at peace for the first time in 14 years, it seems desirable that Americans do everything in their power to indicate their admiration and desire for a lasting friendship with their Pacific ally.

A national committee has, therefore, been formed with several thousand members, including almost all the governors and hundreds of mayors, to organize an American observance of China's national holiday. The day officially will be designated in the United States as "China Friendship Day," and suitable programs are in the course of arrangement by local committees in cities and towns throughout the country. The national committee is headed by Charles Edison, former Governor of New Jersey, who is national chairman of United China Relief.

Judging by the interest and enthusiasm indicated by reports from all sections, the observance of this October 10 will far eclipse that of 1944, when hundreds of communities had special programs commemorating the day on which China became a republic, under the leadership of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

FRANK T. JOHNSON, Publicity Director,
New York City United China Relief, Inc.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Robert Rosamond, of the National Committee for a World Prosperity Campaign of Philadelphia, sends us a communication urging that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development be empowered to lend up to $100 billion instead of the $10 billion it may now lend, with the aim of increasing international prosperity and thus helping to prevent wars.

The International Labor Defense has issued a leaflet asking individuals and groups to "act before October 6 to save a life and beat 'White Supremacy.'" They are asked to wire Governor Coke Stevenson in Austin, Texas, to demand "life and freedom for L. C. Akins, Negro, sentenced to die October 6, 1945, because his skin is black." Akins was convicted of "murder with malice" after he shot and killed a white man during a scuffle. The weapon was the dead man's gun, wrested from him after Akins had first been shot. In order to comply with a previous Supreme Court decision, one Negro was placed on the jury which sentenced Akins to die, but testimony of the commissioners who chose the panel seems to show that discrimination operated as usual, since the Negro juror was "a barely literate . . . farmer from a remote part of the county," chosen for a show of legality.

Presly Holliday, Quartermaster Sergeant, retired, in a letter to President Truman, a copy of which he sent to us, asks that an executive order give the Negro more than "token representation" in the regular army. He points out that in time of war there are few Negroes qualified to instruct in technical branches of warfare because of the peacetime policy of numerical discrimination. Sergeant Holliday thinks that as a matter of "simple justice," the Negro deserves better opportunities to serve his country in the army than he has had so far either in the army or in civilian life.

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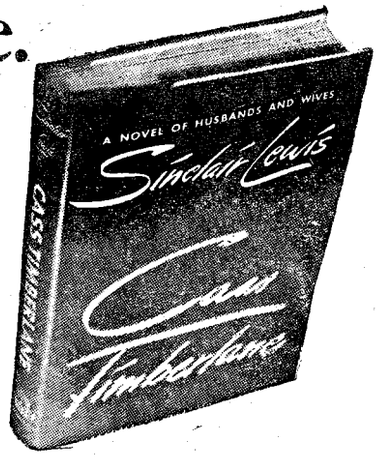
Sinclair Lewis

has written many great novels in his time, but none so frank as this one. It reveals with tenderness and relentless satire what is happening to American marriage.



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Books in Review

Japan Can Be Democratic

THE CURRENT DEBATE on policy toward Japan has aroused an unprecedented degree of American popular interest and concern. There is growing realization that something akin to a sell-out has been in progress, and that it can be halted only by a determined political struggle. This instinctive popular reaction will be given deeper meaning and more substantial content by the wide reading of Andrew Roth's book[1] which now seems promised. In terms which are as reasonably argued as they are forthrightly stated, the author accomplishes several major objectives. He presents an illuminating and unanswerable critique of the Grew-Dooman thesis on Japan which has motivated a United States policy that could easily turn a military victory won at enormous cost into a ghastly mockery. He contributes a detailed and well documented historical study of the long and bitter struggle for democratic rights by the people of Japan, the one force that can remake the country if provided with but a modicum of outside assistance at this juncture. Most of his chapters, in fact, are in the nature of a skilled dissection of Japan's body politic—that "peerless polity" of a narrow ruling caste ruthlessly exploiting its millions of subjects. In carrying this job through successfully, Lieutenant Roth has performed a notable public service.

At the outset of his analysis, the author italicizes a warning sentence that has lost none of its prophetic force:

> Strange and contradictory as the idea may seem, it is entirely possible for the civilian members of Japan's ruling oligarchy to win the equivalent of a negotiated peace—that is, the chance to make a comeback—despite the acceptance of unconditional surrender!

There is an uncanny prescience in this warning. The degree to which it may be finally borne out will depend on how far the occupation's first steps will block the State Department's tardy revision of the Grew-Dooman thesis. Roth's critique of this thesis shows it to contain three basic elements: (1) preservation of Emperor Hirohito and the Imperial system, including the high court officials and the state Shinto ideology; (2) a definition of war criminals so limited as to provide absolution for decisive sections of Japan's war-breeding oligarchy, especially the Zaibatsu and the civilian bureaucrats; and (3) an almost pathological insistence on "stability" and "order." Since results of the application of this policy can be predicted with near mathematical accuracy, it is not surprising that passage after passage of *Dilemma in Japan* reads like a commentary on events of the past few weeks.

"To achieve this perfect 'order' and 'stability' which Mr. Grew so longingly describes," writes Roth, "it will be necessary to retain almost the entire authoritarian bureaucracy and the anti-democratic police—as well as the Emperor. Once stability and order become our watchwords, we almost necessarily become the watchdogs of the Old Order and the Old Gang." The characterization of Japan under American occupation in September, 1945, is too painfully accurate.

Or take another page, where Roth notes that the Zaibatsu "will proclaim themselves authentic moderates and liberals. They will swear they have never liked the militarists and only profited from their war with a bleeding heart. They will offer to put their administrative and organizing experience at the disposal of the victorious Allies, and thus maintain 'order' and 'stability' . . . They will protest their admiration for parliamentary government, and at a nod from the occupying authorities will bring back to life the now defunct Japanese political parties." It is all like a scenario, written up carefully in parts before the actors present it to the public.

A reversal of the mistaken policy which the occupation authorities have been following toward Japan must start where the first big error was committed—with the Emperor. Roth's words on this crucial point are explicit:

> Emperor Hirohito can and should be tried as a war criminal. As chief of state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces, he has been legally responsible for unprovoked aggression and unspeakable atrocities. An Allied bill of particulars, charging the Emperor with criminal complicity in the war, will come as a needed psychological shock to the Japanese.

Had Roth been writing today, he might well have added that only Hirohito's enforced abdication and trial will be sufficient to drive home to the Japanese people the realization of defeat which is so patently absent. This act has become the more necessary, since it is the sole measure strong enough to dissociate Allied policy from its blatant support of the Emperor's prerogatives up to the present moment. Roth is careful, however, to distinguish treatment of Emperor Hirohito from treatment of the Emperor institution. Much greater finesse is required if we are to succeed in uprooting the Emperor system once and for all. In this sphere Roth counsels a flank attack consisting of "three complementary thrusts." Of these, one "should have the objective of weakening the sources of the throne's strength," such as the fanatic jingoists who have exploited the Shinto cult and the financial barons who have supplied many of the Emperor's advisers. A second attack "should attempt to discredit the institution itself," while the third "should support the democratic forces in Japan which will of themselves work to counter the influence of the throne."

The third move is the essential prerequisite to success, in this as in all other necessary political, economic and social reforms. As Roth notes: "A permanent abolition of the throne—one which will last beyond the withdrawal of occupation forces—can only come as a result of action by the Japanese people themselves. Therefore the most vital and positive step in this direction is the strengthening of the natural opponents of the throne—those who favor popular sovereignty against imperial sovereignty."

[1] Dilemma in Japan, by Andrew Roth. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 302 pages. $2.50.

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Roth's chapters which trace the long history of popular opposition to the cruel oppression of the oligarchy—opposition by intellectuals, by peasants, by workers, and the small businessmen—are the best testimony to the bases which exist for the growth of a virile democratic movement in Japan. The obstacles to its advance, however, must be swept aside, instead of being reared higher by an occupation policy which strengthens the oligarchs' power. It is revealing to observe how many of Roth's suggestions, in the quotation which follows, are today being directly violated by American occupation authorities:

> The most important contribution the United Nations can make to the achievement of a democratic Japan is through encouraging the development of those groups and individuals most intent on introducing the political, economic and social reforms requisite to democratization. One of the main problems . . . revolves around selecting suitable personnel for various positions of trust. By selecting persons with a consistent record of opposition to militarism and dedicated to measures that will uproot the old regime, we simultaneously provide ourselves with trustworthy associates and give potential democratic leaders the experience and prestige which they require. . . . Allowing the anti-militarists to have access to the radio and press, and permitting them to hold public meetings, while discouraging the anti-democratic and pro-militarist elements, would be of signal importance. Similarly, the occupying authorities will have the opportunity to assist and encourage the work of trade unions, peasant leagues, professional associations, small businessmen's groups and other popular organizations which are certain to emerge.

The question arises: are even these popular organizations likely to arise, and especially to engage in free activity, if the oligarchy continues to dominate the government and the police?

T. A. BISSON

Christian and Jew

One Destiny, by Sholem Asch. Translated by Milton Hindus. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 88 pages. $1.50.

THIS IS the second "Epistle to the Christians" from the pen of the author of *The Nazarene* and *The Apostle*. A few years ago he challenged the Christian reader by bluntly asking whether he had lived according to his faith: "Has he suffered, surrendered, died and been purified in the spirit of Jesus? Have the limbs of the Christian been the vessels of Christianity? How can Christian man lift his hand to do evil if he believes that he is part of the suffering Messiah and the Messiah is part of him?" *What I Believe* was published before the civilized world had learned of the gradual slaughter of six million Jews by a nation which, nominally at least, adheres to the Christian faith. *One Destiny* is the famous Yiddish novelist's second warning, addressed primarily to the Christian, but also to the Jewish survivors of the holocaust, entreating them to remember their common religious ground: "No deliverance, no peace and no salvation can come until the two halves are joined together and become part of God."

Reviewing the past six years, Asch finds the whole Christian world guilty of the above-mentioned crime, as accessories to the crime, if not as actual butcherers. But he joyfully admits that quite a number of Christians within Nazi-occupied Europe risked their lives to save Jews, especially Jewish children, and with a noble gesture he finally asserts that we all, including the very victims of the persecution, share part of the guilt: "We are all accomplices in the German wickedness."

This acknowledgment of contemporary man's weakness and confusion does not lessen the criminals' guilt. Mr. Asch refuses to consider the medieval or the modern Jew-baiters as genuine Christians: "The attitude toward the Jews is the barometer which has registered how much Christian spirit there is among Christians."

The author is a mystic who resorts to supra-natural explanations for two of history's greatest riddles: Israel's preservation amidst a hostile world, and the phenomenon of anti-Semitism. He believes that a higher power made the Jews retain their faith instead of becoming converted to the Greek faith or to Christianity, and he revives the medieval concept of Anti-Christ to blame the other phenomenon on him rather than on psychological or economic causes: "Anti-Semitism is one of the tried methods which the Anti-Christ uses to disrupt the work of Jesus of Nazareth."

Credo quia absurdum—there is no sense in arguing where arguments would be wasted. However, Asch's sincere attempt to unite Christians and Jews by making them minimize their religious differences, or even to deny their existence, is bound to be opposed by sticklers for facts—believers and non-believers alike. There is something fishy about his term "Judaeo-Christian idea." While the two religions have much in common, especially the so-called Old Testament, there is also a great deal that separates them, for instance the idea of Trinity and the Original Sin. Asch's statement, "The religious Jew in his spiritual outlook is the same believer in his Messiah as the religious Christian," emphasized by Asch in his desire to prove that Christianity and Judaism are practically one religion, overlooks essential differences between Jewish and Christian messianism. Does good will between Christians and Jews have to be bought at the price of the Jew's denial of the differences that separate him from the Christian's religion? Britain's Professor Travers Herford was much nearer to the truth when he asserted that "Judaism and Christianity can never blend without the surrender by the one or the other of its fundamental principles," suggesting at the same time that Christian and Jew should try "to understand and respect each other, and recognize that each religion has God's work to do."

Particularly out of place is Asch's attack upon Mohammedanism, as, allegedly, opposed to Judaeo-Christianity. Islam has much in common with Judaism, and also with Christianity, and the Mohammedans have proved, at times, more tolerant than the Christians. Asch's rhetorical questions "Are the Mohammedans my brothers?" and "What have I to do with the desert tribe?" make this reviewer wonder whether peace among the nations should not be sought on ethical principles alone, without the aid of religious zealots who, apparently, finding no space in their temples for all mankind, fail to see "One Destiny" for "One World."

ALFRED WERNER

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JEWS, CATHOLICS, NEGROES, AND THE MEDICAL COLLEGES

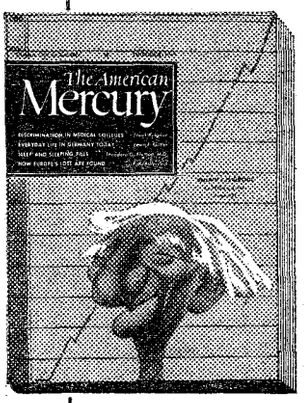
We were advised and cautioned not to print this article. It would rub too many people the wrong way. The survey on which it was based has already stirred up a hornet's nest. But we can't neglect or ignore the subject. When schools like Harvard, Cornell, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Columbia deny to youths the right to become doctors —not on grounds of scholarship, character, personality and other criteria of fitness— but solely on grounds of race and creed, the public ought to know the facts. The matter is long past due for an airing, not only on the score of fair play to minorities, but also for the future welfare of the medical profession. Read "Discrimination in Medical Colleges" by Frank Kingdon, in the October AMERICAN MERCURY.

SLEEP AND SLEEPING PILLS

The nerve strain of war and its aftermath have destroyed sleep. Four million sleeping pills are consumed each day. We read of suicides and accidental deaths ascribed to overdoses. Legislation against the pills is being debated. What is the truth? What makes us sleep? What keeps us awake? Can sleeplessness be overcome without pills? Just how dangerous are the pills? Dr. Theodore G. Klumpp presents all aspects of the problem, and corrects much popular misinformation, in "Sleep and Sleeping Pills."

THE AMERICAN MERCURY—for October—NOW ON SALE

What are the Germans like today after five months of defeat? What are they thinking, doing, planning? An O.W.I. official just returned tells you in *Everyday Life in Germany Today*...Your radio may soon "print" your morning newspaper in your own home while you sleep. Read about a sure-to-come development that can revolutionize newspaper publishing, in *The Facsimile Newspaper*... Everybody has heard about the "Beveridge Plan," but few Americans know the fascinating story of its author. William Bayles, noted correspondent, has sketched a dynamic, on-the-scene profile of *Britain's Beveridge*...How would you like to be a Russian official in Washington, beset by spies and informers, with every aspect of your private life strictly supervised? Read *The Life of a Soviet Official Abroad*, by Victor Kravchenko...How can Hitler's concentration camp victims find their American relatives? How can Americans trace their desolate families uprooted in the old country? Read *How Europe's Lost Are Found*...Many other articles in the October issue offer rare reading pleasure, including the regular MERCURY features—*The Library*, the *Check List*, the *Open Forum*, several poems, and a distinguished short story.



A Prophecy Hitler Didn't Like

Recently a friendly reader sent us a clipping from the New York *Times* from way back in 1934. The headline said: "Reich Bans THE MERCURY." It was news to be banned in those days. Later, of course, it became almost disrespectable not to be banned. Our offense was in an article entitled *Germany Sinks Into Slavery*, by S. Miles Bouton, which contained this prophecy: "The Nazi leaders declare that their Third Reich will endure 'forever.' If history has any meaning and if all human experience is not a lie, they are mistaken by a good many millennia. The end will come sooner than a horrified civilization...as yet dares to hope. The only thing uncertain is whether the end will come through revolution or through war. If it be war, that will also be the end of Germany." Think back. That was a daring phophecy in 1934.

The New York Times
June 30, 1934

REICH BANS THE MERCURY.

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of Article by S. M. Bouton.

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that the magazine had been
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One German Talks Back

The German Talks Back, by Heinrich Hauser. Introduction and footnotes by Hans J. Morgenthau. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 215 pages. $2.50.

IN THE last harassed years of the German Republic, not all political radicals of the Right joined forces with Hitler. Among the groups which mushroomed in frustration and bewilderment, one which called itself the Tat-Kreis (Action Circle) advocated the speedy establishment of a corporate state, since it was held proved once and for all that Germany was incapable of parliamentary democracy. The militarization of youth was recommended as a solution for unemployment; romantic slogans about the need for the German people to return to the land foreshadowed Herr Darré's concept of blood and soil. In matters of foreign policy, Germany was advised to turn her back on America and capitalistic Western civilization and to face toward Russia, which, whether Bolshevist or Czarist, was akin to the true Prussian spirit extolled by the Tat-Kreis. These drawing-room fascists, who, as well paid journalists, enjoyed the hospitality of the German democratic press, never developed any following whatsoever. After the Hitler brand of fascism, which this group of intellectuals had always considered plebeian, had won, Mr. Hauser and his friends forgot their political ambitions for a time.

But in this book the old tenets are expounded anew. The years of the New Order and the situation at the end of World War II serve the author as proof that his analysis has always been the correct one. His book endeavors to show that Prussianism and the Junkers are the unalterably decisive forces in German history; that to hope for a democratic or popularly controlled Germany is simply ridiculous; that the German hate everything American because they already loathe the American type of dollar democracy and because the Western Allies will mess up the job of occupation; that Russian occupation has a far better chance of succeeding, because it may be able to create a 100-percent Communist Germany. The only salvation for Germany is seen in a kind of voluntary super-Morgenthau plan, returning German economy to a predominantly agricultural stage and providing for large-scale de-industrialization.

The author presents a brief history of Prussianism, which time and again caricatures the actual historical process. The Junkers become a class of struggling peasants; not a word is said about their practically unlimited power over Prussia's rural population or about their effective lobbying for subsidies. The first Prussian kings are praised as the beloved servants of their nation, though at times the number of desertions from their armies amounted to more than a third of the total number of soldiers. The author's interpretation of modern German history is no less arbitrary. The hopes and deeds of the revolutionaries of 1848 are ridiculed, the overthrow of the empire in 1918 characterized as a mere attempt to please Germany's enemies. Finally, the growth of extremist parties under the Republic is explained by the utter disgust of the Germans with Western civilization and particularly with its culmination, the United States.

For his picture of America, the author uses a technique characteristic of his argumentation throughout. He first presents a picture of a pastoral Jeffersonian democracy such as never existed and never will exist, and then confronts us with American "reality," as projected by Hollywood. This operation makes it easy for him to raise indignant outcries against democratic hypocrisy and to question the moral right of the democracies to propose a way of life for other nations.

Mr. Hauser's publishers did not wait for the reviewers to point out the author's factual errors. They charged Professor Morgenthau, of the University of Chicago, with the task of rectifying at least the most flagrant of the author's misstatements in a well balanced introduction and patient footnotes. In a note to the readers, the publishers explain why, in printing this book, they felt it an affirmation of faith to extend the privilege of free speech to a man who considers himself an enemy of this country and its institutions. Without doubt, an American would have had difficulty getting a manuscript published after experts in the field had agreed that his entire argument was based on false facts. Mr. Hauser's book was thought worthy of publication because, according to his own statement, his views are shared "by practically all the intelligentsia now in Germany and by a majority of all the German people."

It is always difficult to justify such claims. Mr. Hauser left Germany in 1939; nothing in his background makes him representative of any sizable group among his own people. During the past few months, this reviewer has been in daily contact with some thousand Germans, recruits of Hitler's army, among them a large proportion of members of that intelligentsia for which Mr. Hauser

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claims to speak. These men are conscious, over-conscious perhaps, of the fact that now more than ever, their country stands between East and West. They are fully aware of the weakness of their own democratic traditions; theirs is a healthy skepticism as to the possibility of reviving such traditions by the simple imitation of foreign institutions. But they most definitely desire to surmount that very nihilism which Mr. Hauser considers inevitable. They see in the Prussian spirit one of the main causes of their misfortunes and literally dread its revival. They most certainly believe that a too drastic de-industrialization of their country would be an additional element of economic dislocation and hence a danger to the growth of a genuine German democracy.

HENRY W. EHRMANN

Spain in Exile

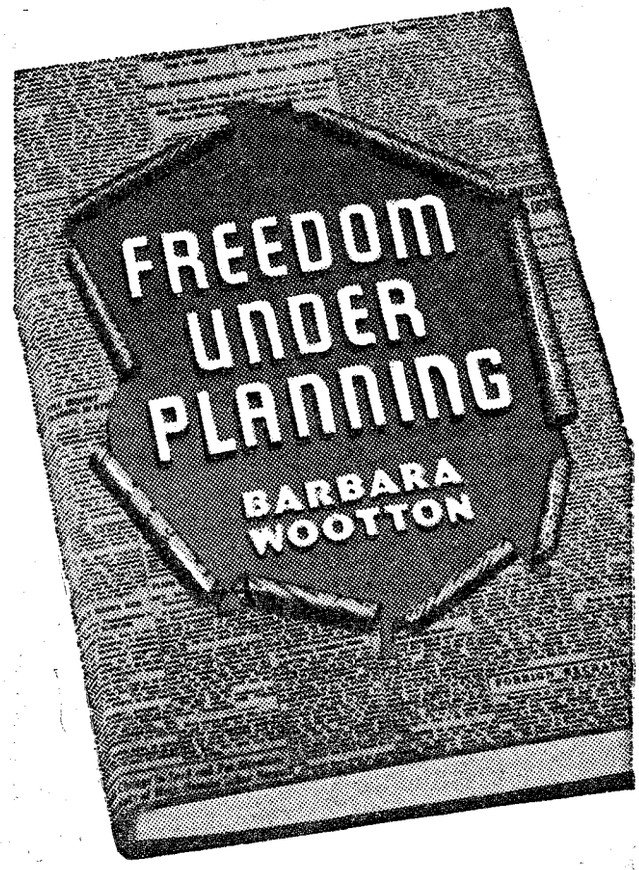
Smouldering Freedom, by Isabel de Palencia. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 264 pages. $3.

RARELY does one come across a book which so exactly expresses the personality of its author. The influence which Isabel de Palencia, one of the most impressive leaders of contemporary Spanish socialism, has always exercised over opinion has been due to the integrity of her mind and to the deep sincerity of her moral convictions. In Spain and in exile, her personal qualities of courage, warmth and amplitude have made her influence felt in spheres much wider than those of avocational politics. She has been an important factor, not so much in the construction of programs and the choice of tactics, as in the fundamental work of preparing a true socialist morale. These are the qualities that give distinction to her latest book. A close student of the Spanish problem will perhaps find little new material in *Smouldering Freedom*, yet it is not a book he can afford to neglect. Beginning with a brief and simple account of the war in Spain, the book then becomes a kind of personal record of exile, through which medium the author succeeds in giving a useful and critical account of later developments within the Spanish field.

For the non-specialist reader Isabel de Palencia's account of the republic-in-exile will be extremely informative as well as moving. So, too, will her description of what is happening within Spain. In fact, for those who have not followed the Spanish developments closely or for others whose political awakening came later than that opening battle of the world war, *Smouldering Freedom* will serve as an admirable introduction to what is still the most unequivocal experience of the contemporary world.

Yet it is not for its documentation, nor for its analytical powers, that the book is so singularly appropriate to the present moment. The effects of our own mistaken policy toward fascist Spain and of the many anxieties which the political problems of the war have awakened in us, have been a dulling of the imagination with regard to the Spanish problem. In great measure, the divisions among Spanish republicans have tended to remove that cause from the center of our deepest interest, and to allocate it to the realm of politics, to our own loss. For it is true, I believe, that throughout the long perplexities of the war, the most powerful impetus, even in those liberals who have not suspected it, has been the remembrance of Spain and her resistance.

"Debunks the generalities of Hayek" — MORDECAI EZEKIEL



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The effect of *Smouldering Freedom* is in the direction of restoring our memory of that struggle, with all its energizing moral content. It is a moving and inspiriting book, and I, for one, am grateful for it. RALPH BATES

A Reader's List

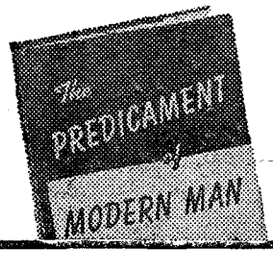
WHERE DO PEOPLE TAKE THEIR TROUBLES? by Lee R. Steiner (Houghton Mifflin, $3). Year after year thousands of people seek relief from emotional distress in the offices, "studios," "institutes" and correspondence columns of professional problem-solvers. Mrs. Steiner, a trained psychologist and personal consultant on social problems, has spent twelve years exploring the nature of these problems, their treatment and the "doctors." She emerges from her study with an amazing gallery of quacks, adventurers and racketeers—all of whom operate within the law, since a practising "psychologist" needs neither license nor medical degree. Mrs. Steiner is careful to point out that there are properly trained and equipped psychotherapists and explains how these can be distinguished from the fakes. But in view of the bulk of troubled people, she urges a government-sponsored program, including nationwide education in mental hygiene through the schools, community services, press and radio.

PUP-TENT POETS OF THE STARS AND STRIPES, MEDITERRANEAN (printed in Italy by *Stars and Stripes*). From the thousands of contributions to their "Pup-Tent Poets" columns the enterprising editors of *Stars and Stripes* have compiled a neat-looking little volume containing several hundred of their more formidable selections. As the editors note, "critical standards set by newspapers in the States were never adopted" by the Army paper. The verse that poured endlessly into the offices of *Stars and Stripes* in such unlikely spots as Oran, Algiers, Tunis, Palermo, Naples and Rome wasn't on the serious level. But as folk poetry—the sentimental and humorous outpourings of GI's, sailors, Wacs and nurses in the Mediterranean theatre—this volume has real and delightful value. Incidentally, it gives the feel of the Mediterranean campaign a good deal more vividly than the correspondents have done. The book also appears to prove that the Army selects its officers purely for their martial qualities. There is a lieutenant who rhymes "hostilities" with "subtleties" and, boy, he isn't the worst. The book can't be bought in the States, but collectors of war curiosa are warmly advised to get a GI friend to send them a copy.

Crime and Punishment

THE SCARLET BUTTON, by Anthony Gilbert (Smith and Durrell, $2). This tour de force concerns the death by violence of James Chigwell, big-time blackmailer with a thousand deadly enemies. Which of them bashed in his brains that snowy night in London? The police were baffled, but not Arthur Crook. The cagey lawyer knew the murderer would be irresistibly drawn into the case—as he was. A skillful, exciting and unusual job.

WATCHFUL AT NIGHT, by Sergeant Julian Fast (Farrar and Rinehart, $2). Farrar and Rinehart inaugurates its new department, Murray Hill Mysteries, with a choice that falls between two stools. It has a swell army-camp background, but it's a pretty poor detective story, and it's further handicapped by a top-heavy load of anti-fascist propaganda. This hardened criminologist feels that crime and ideology make unsatisfactory bedfellows in detective fiction. But those who don't agree might take a trip to Camp Alden and follow Sergeant Clark's successful efforts to bring the murderers of his buddy to justice. E. H.



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Contributors

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Louis Dolivet is editor of *Free World* and secretary of the Free World Association.

Louis Falstein, who made his first appearance in the *New Republic* of August 20, was recently discharged from the Army with 101 points. He flew 50 missions with the 15th Air Force. Now in New York, he is working on short stories and a novel.

T. A. Bisson, a staff member of the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is the author of *Japan in China* and *America's Far Eastern Policy*, which was published this year by Macmillan. His forthcoming book is entitled *Japan's War Economy*.

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Henry W. Ehrmann is at present working as an educational specialist for a United States government agency. His book on the history of the French labor movement will shortly be published by the Oxford University Press.

Ralph Bates is a British novelist and writer on politics and music. He lived for many years in Spain and served as a brigade commissar with the Loyalists in the Spanish civil war.

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